

REPORT ON THE NOVEMBER 2020 ELECTION IN MICHIGAN

and more importantly, there has been no evidence provided that such a purported connection led to alterations to machine programming, hardware, or the tabulated results or could have led to such changes. Finally, logic and accuracy tests are conducted on each tabulator prior to the election to confirm that pre-election procedures were followed properly. During the post-election audits, clerks verify that those tests were performed and that the machines and their programming were not tampered with during the election.

Many theories and speculation regarding tabulators not at the TCF Center also include a component that necessitate an internet connection. It is particularly important to note that Dominion voting machines that are not part of an absentee voter counting board do not have built in modems or wireless internet. Reports to the contrary are false, with some falsely labeling non-Dominion machines as Dominion machines to make it appear as if they do have wireless internet capabilities. The secure cellular modems some clerks use to transmit the unofficial results to the county clerk are not even turned on or connected to the tabulators until *after* the official results are printed by the individual machine.

Tabulator/Software Integrity

There is no link in the election process chain more susceptible to unprovable and un-refutable speculation and suspicion than those involving the invisible lines of code and panels of circuits. These vulnerabilities can include tampering with machine code on site, via cyber attack, or by malicious programming by the proprietors of the machines.

There are many theories as to how compromising the integrity of the machines and software could have taken place, making it impossible to delineate each one separately. However, the answers and evidence against nearly all theories is generally the same. Reasonable deduction and logic stand to refute nearly all possible outcomes of a hack or attack, including the following theories: whether files including ballot images were hacked, a malicious algorithm was installed to switch votes, or a hostile, foreign force obtained a connection into a tabulator before, during, or after the election. In all of these situations, a simple recount or re-tabulation by the machine, after a logic and accuracy test, or by hand would demonstrate the theory to be consistent or inconsistent with the facts. This has been undertaken in multiple jurisdictions, both those in question and those not, all providing verification of the original, official results. Not one of these efforts demonstrated a problem with the tabulators or the software. There is no evidence to suggest the original, official results reflected anything but what was marked on the ballots.

Videos and reports of the ease of hacking current Dominion voting machines from outside of Michigan, e.g. Georgia, never demonstrated a vulnerability of the vote counting software or the tabulators. The chair contacted various officials from Georgia to understand the testimony and events in question there. Particularly, the testimony of Jovan Pulitzer, which purported to have on-the-spot access to manipulate voting files and vote counts, has been demonstrated to be untrue and a complete fabrication. He did not, at any time, have access to data or votes, let alone have the ability to manipulate the counts directly or by the introduction of malicious software to the tabulators. Nor could he spot fraudulent ballots from non-fraudulent ones. Notably, Georgia did conduct a complete, statewide, hand recount that validated the tabulators' official results.

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Many of the theories surrounding cyber attacks were consolidated into the visuals and narratives included in the “Absolute Proof” video series first presented in January 2021 and continuing into June 2021 by Mike Lindell (the video relied heavily on the situation in Antrim County and the report from ASOG). In summary, Mr. Lindell claims that attacks by foreign and domestic enemies were successful in obtaining access to the computers containing results at local and county clerks’ offices, as well as the secretary of state. In some cases, the supposed access included the actual tabulators.

However, this narrative is ignorant of multiple levels of the actual election process. Upon completion of the election, tabulators print the final results on paper. Clerks then connect a modem and transmit by secure, cellular connection or transfer by flash drive the unofficial results to the county clerk.³ County clerks then report these unofficial results both locally and to the secretary of state. The secretary of state releases the unofficial results to media and their own page. Clarity, a Spanish based company, also takes in these unofficial results from the county or the state. This company, which is based in Spain and has servers in Europe, makes the unofficial results available to multiple users, especially media subscribers who utilize the unofficial results in their election night prognostications. Scytel and others are companies that provide similar services. All of these activities, especially due to media inquiries, constitute a significant explanation for much of the cyber activity across the country and the globe on election night.

Terminologies about the equipment used in elections leads to much of the confusion, particularly when used carelessly. Various documents, emails, and manuals discuss connectivity and servers. Certain persons have used these as proof that tabulators were connected during the election. However, the capabilities of the machines do not denote all of those options were operating during the election itself. Server connections and vulnerabilities, even errors, at clerk’s offices are not indicative that tabulators themselves were vulnerable or hacked. The presence of IP addresses do not prove votes were altered or programming was hacked. Servers have nothing to do with regular tabulators during the election.

While the clear and constant presence of cyber criminals is real, the exchange of “packets” of information between two computers speaking to each other is not evidence of successful hacking or changing of data. Moreover, it is not possible for anyone to now determine what might have been in those packets of information unless granted specific access to one of the two computers involved in the transaction. All the while, the official results remain on a printed piece of paper at the local clerk’s office and are not alterable to any reverse cyber attack. Most importantly, the paper ballots in the box are available for re-tabulation or recount at any time. Where this was done, no evidence of hacking or attack was ever shown. Nor did any official representative of the losing party call for a hand recount in any precinct so to prove an instance of such. If the losing party had been so confident of any of these cyber attack theories or software-based vote switching, simply asking for several hand recounts or re-tabulations in the various precincts would have demonstrated a genuine hack had happened and that there was necessity for additional recounts and investigations.

³ ES&S and Hart InterCivic tabulators have internal modems, but not Dominion. However, they are not turned on until the polls are closed and tabulation has concluded. It is worth noting that these machines will likely have to be recertified, depending on whether they have 4G or 5G capabilities when the technology changes.

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Further, the graphics and charts in various videos claim very specific access and vote count changes in specific counties across Michigan but do not provide any references or evidence to demonstrate how that information was acquired. As mentioned above, once the data is transmitted, there is no way to know what was sent without access to a computer on either side. No clerk or election official in any of these counties was informed how these numbers were calculated or known (except the numbers shown for Antrim County, which mirror the numbers shown to have occurred by human error). While showing these numbers is compelling, there is no source provided, but the viewer is led to believe Mr. Lindell's experts have received access to each of these counties' or precincts' computers and discovered a connection and hack occurred along with exactly what data was transmitted. No such activities took place at any of these locations with which the Committee had contact.

The chair spoke with clerks in several of the counties listed by Mr. Lindell's experts. These clerks had no explanation for numbers his reports show as being flipped votes, nor had they had any interaction with any persons making these allegations. Moreover, clerks in these counties performed random hand recounts in various precincts or townships and found zero change to the official, canvass results. Other clerks did full county re-tabulations and found zero change. For these actions to not contradict Mr. Lindell's allegations would mean all the clerks surreptitiously or incidentally chose precincts or townships that were not involved with the hack his experts claim occurred or allowed their tabulators to be compromised. The Committee finds this is beyond any statistical or reasonable credulity.

Canvassing and Out of Balance Precincts

The canvassing process that is conducted at the county level in each of Michigan's counties always serves as the check on most irregularities that may occur during the initial tabulation. If paper ballots are significantly unbalanced when compared with the number of votes reported in poll books, this constitutes a clear indication that something went wrong. Often, the imbalance arises when workers do not immediately account for the necessity of copying overseas ballots or damaged absentee voter ballots. It also occurs when a voter decides to leave the polling place without correcting a spoiled ballot or submitting their ballot. Other causes come from empty absentee voter ballot envelopes, or couples including both of their ballots in one envelope.

Some of the highly out-of-balance precincts at consolidated Absentee Voter Counting Boards (AVCB) were likely from mistakes made with the high-speed tabulators, something that several citizens swore to have witnessed in affidavits and other testimony. When these imbalances appear after Election Day, it is the board of canvassers, or in Wayne County, their chosen agent, the clerk, that can make the decision to perform a further review to correct any irregularities that are discovered. Re-tabulation of the paper ballots and a thorough examination of the poll books are critical parts to the canvass process, allowing the books and ballot boxes to reach balance.

Technically, the imbalances that remain after the canvass could exist due to fraudulent activity. Unbalanced precincts are unfortunate and are something that should be addressed in the future. However, the unbalanced precincts in Michigan counties were marginal and, in no way, would have impacted the outcome of the Presidential election. There were fewer precincts with an imbalance

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in this election than in previous ones. **Developing best practices and training election workers on how to maintain balanced precincts is recommended. There is much discussion on allowing some out-of-balance precincts to be eligible for recount but testimony the Committee heard from several clerks indicated they did not support this. Therefore, the Committee makes no recommendations on this issue.**

The Committee did learn during testimony that Wayne County's Board of Canvassers operates differently than most other counties, shifting the actual canvass responsibilities to the county clerk and their staff. Once the canvass is complete, the board receives a report, that is unusually anemic in its details of how imbalances were rectified. This is unfair to those serving on the board, as well as the voters of Wayne County, despite being permitted by law. A transparent canvass, overseen by those not responsible for the actual election process, allows citizens to understand how imbalances occurred and how they were rectified while having confidence that there was not a conflict of interest for those performing the canvass.

Canvassers ought to be intimately involved in the process and the law should be changed to provide consistency and transparency in the canvassing process. Furthermore, it would be wise to allow for larger boards in higher population areas and to provide additional time to complete the canvass to rectify any irregularities.

7. Signature Verification Process

The Committee was made aware of claims that election workers at the TCF Center in downtown Detroit were instructed to not match signatures on envelopes and furthermore were instructed to "pre-date" the received date of absentee ballots. To the contrary, these processing steps — signature matching and verification of the date received — occurred at another location and were completed by other employees prior to the time the ballots were sent to the TCF Center for counting. Workers at the AVCBs are to check for the clerk's signature and time stamp as well as making sure the voter signature is present. However, the validation of the voter signature by the clerk's office is indicated by the clerk's signature and stamp. As for the "pre-dating" allegation, Detroit Senior Election Advisor Chris Thomas explained this date field is necessary for processing the ballot. Without the voter present, there is no way to have that date, which was recorded into the QVF by the official who took the same day registration at another location. Since the poll books at the AVCB are not connected to the QVF during Election Day, there is no way to check what was entered at the site where the voter registered. Therefore, a "placeholder" date is entered, and the poll worker assumes the official accepting the registration did their due diligence.

Kent County Clerk Lisa Lyons, and Ingham County Clerk Barb Byrum, both testified regarding the possible requirement of a "real time" signature when applying for an absentee ballot, indicating it would be highly preferred rather than performing the application process online. In addition to the preferences of election officials, the Michigan Court of Claims struck down Secretary of State Benson's guidance on signature matching, which required workers to presume the validity of signatures, ruling that the required presumption of validity is found nowhere in state law and mandating such was a direct violation of the Administrative Procedures Act.

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After reviewing these facts and receiving the testimony of experts and clerks, it is abundantly clear that the signature verification process is one of significant importance. With new policies in place due to the adoption of Proposal 18-3, current election procedures do not require a new voter to, potentially, ever make face-to-face contact with an election official or staff throughout the process of registration, requesting an absentee ballot application, or completing and submitting their ballot. Therefore, requiring a voter to confirm their identity at some point during the process is imperative. Whether providing a “real time” signature, a government-issued photo identification card, or other unique personally identifying information, like a driver’s license number or a state identification number, requesting that a voter provide one of these easily-accessible identifiers will go a long way to strengthen the integrity of our system, while supporting the new, more efficient way of administering our elections.

Therefore, the Committee recommends that the secretary of state begin the process of establishing actual rules for examining and validating signatures consistent with a ruling of the Michigan Court of Claims. The Committee also recommends that statewide measures be put in place to ensure eligible voters are not unreasonably denied access to vote if there is an issue with their signature. Finally, the Committee recommends that reasonable measures be put in place to ensure voters can easily and properly identify themselves when exercising their right to vote.

8. Jurisdictions Reporting More Than 100% Voter Turnout

The Committee received and heard claims that jurisdictions had more than 100% of registered voters voting. Here are some of the local municipalities that had claims of a higher voter turnout than there were actual registered voters:

<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Actual</i>
Oneida Township	118%	Approximately 80%
Zeeland Township	460.51%	Precincts ranged from 74.46% - 84.80%
Spring Lake Township	120%	Precincts ranged from 66.74% - 84.15%
Gladwin Township	215.21%	67.23%
Summit Township	Over 100%	71%
Detroit	More Votes than Voters (Trump Claim)	250,138 votes = Under 50% of registered voters in the city and only 37% of the total population.

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9. Absentee Ballots Were Tabulated Multiple Times, Increasing Vote Total

Some individuals claimed that many ballots were counted multiple times when they were re-submitted through the high-speed tabulation machines. The Committee heard from several persons and read many affidavits claiming to have first-hand knowledge that this issue occurred. Investigation does show it is possible to cycle a completed stack through the tabulator multiple times as long as no errors occur. Bundles of ballots go through the tabulator so quickly that a simple jam or other error necessitates the entire bundle being restarted. Workers cannot restart the stack unless they first clear the partial count and start from zero by pressing a button.

If ballots were counted multiple times, this would have created a significant disparity in the official pollbook. This was the testimony of several witnesses, including Chris Thomas and Monica Palmer, Republican chair of the Wayne County Board of Canvassers. Specifically, the pollbook would show that many more votes were cast than the number of people obtaining a ballot. This was the case at several counting boards at the completion of the original tabulation. However, the actual imbalances that remained after the canvass show this problem was rectified. Rectifying precincts where this mistake happened is usually not difficult to do and involves taking the ballots out of the box, counting the total number to see if it matches the poll book, and processing all the ballots through the tabulator again. The balanced poll books and the remaining imbalances do not indicate this problem any more, showing it was corrected. Remaining imbalances are likely connected to some of the other reasons addressed in finding number six, namely, empty envelopes, ruined ballots, etc.

The Committee recommends that tabulator companies develop machines that place tabulated ballots into a box that has no access for poll workers while placing uncounted ballots in another tray to be checked and placed in the tabulator when ready. This would assure such an error cannot occur and that no reset and restarting of a full stack is necessary.

10. Thousands of Ballots Were “Dumped” at the TCF Center on Election Night/The Next Morning

Several individuals testified and claimed that tens of thousands of ballots were “dumped” at the TCF Center on election night, when reported vote tallies showed that President Trump was still in the lead. They allege this occurred between 3 – 5 a.m. and that they were brought onto the floor to be counted. Chris Thomas, the senior elections advisor for the city of Detroit, stated he estimated 16,000 ballots were delivered to the TFC Center around that time. Some other persons and media speculated it was nearly 100,000, but most reported about 30,000-45,000. These ballots were submitted throughout Election Day at different locations, such as drop boxes, in the mail, and at the clerk’s main and satellite offices. After the ballots were compiled and processed at the clerk’s office, after the closing of polls at 8 p.m., they were brought to the TFC Center for counting. These ballots were not brought in a wagon as alleged, but via delivery truck and then placed on carts. A widely circulated picture in media and online reports allegedly showed ballots secretly being delivered late at night but, in reality, it was a photo of a WXYZ-TV photographer hauling his equipment.

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Others claimed that the TCF Center security camera footage around the same time showed some type of “ballot dump.” While the video in question confirms that a number of ballots were delivered at the time alleged, it provides no evidence of fraudulent or wrongful conduct. In the video, the van arrived around 3:30 a.m. and unloaded the absentee ballots. Once unloaded, the van left around 3:55 a.m. to go back to the satellite office where the processing was occurring. The van arrived back once again around 4:30 a.m. to unload the final ballots.

This theory, like many of the other theories proposed as evidence of fraud, does not constitute actual evidence on its own. Those drawing such conclusions in their affidavits and testimony were asked to provide proof that something illegal actually occurred but no proof that ballots were fraudulent was provided or found by the Committee in testimony or in subpoenaed records. However, this situation does raise issues with the delayed and cumbersome process of obtaining absentee ballots from drop boxes on election night, when many other activities and processes are also ongoing. **The Committee recommends that drop boxes not be utilized or be closed earlier than 8 p.m. on Election Day so that the time taken to collect such ballots will not, by necessity, extend processing and tabulating of such a large volume so long into the night. At the least, appointed staff should be on-hand to immediately collect ballots from drop boxes at 8 p.m. Additionally, the process of transferring ballots from the clerk’s office to other locations must be done with greater security and manifests so that there can be an accounting for each ballot sent and received between the two locations, establishing a chain of custody.**

11. Vote Totals Were Abnormal Compared to Past Presidential Elections and Other Vote Count Irregularities

Several claims were made regarding the voter turnout in the November 2020 election in which the statistical data was cited as a source to show widespread election impropriety. Comparing historical results casts serious doubt over any claims of widespread impropriety in the Michigan 2020 election. In fact, turnout in 2020 increased less in Wayne county (11.4%) than in the rest of the state (15.4%) and President Trump won a greater percentage of votes there than he did in 2016 (30.27% vs 29.3%).

Additionally, the data suggests that there was no anomalous number of votes cast solely for the President, either in Wayne County or statewide:

2020

Statewide

President: 5,539,302

Senate: 5,479,720

Difference: 59,582 (1.08% difference)

Wayne

President: 874,018

Senate: 863,946

Difference: 10,072 (1.15% difference)

2016

Statewide

President: 4,799,284

Congress: 4,670,905

Difference: 128,379 (2.67% difference)

Wayne

President: 782,719

Congress: 754,560

Difference: 28,159 (3.60% difference)

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Other Irregularities

Several published reports, particularly “Case for Michigan Decertification” presented charts of vote sub-totals and totals that were adjusted during the night and sometimes subtract votes from previous totals. The report also shows the increase in absentee votes tabulated was greater than the usual amount able to be processed in the given time frame. These reports require partial or incremental vote counts and totals. Finally, the report included final vote counts that include enormous spikes of final votes with a very high percentage for one candidate. Attempts by the chair to acquire the sources and citations of this data from the author were not able to be fulfilled. The author insisted that he cannot answer the questions about the origins of these data points, which he uses as evidence, without others investigating the issue or granting him access to a wide range of materials.

The reports containing these impossible mathematical counts rely on partial or incremental vote counts which are not available from any county or state official. Detroit does set up its own, unofficial vote reporting site. Incremental vote counts are reported during the process at the TCF Center. This additional level of complexity for reporting and handling, along with corrective actions that may be occurring onsite after an incremental data dump, can lead to multiple inaccuracies and discrepancies. There is additional confusion about counts and potential increases or decreases as the city merges actual precinct votes with AVCB votes. **Allowing Detroit to announce partial or incremental vote counts when no other community does, does not promote a uniform, statewide system. Further, not aligning each AVCB with each precinct creates an additional, complexity leading to an unnecessary vulnerability for errors in the unofficial, election night vote reports.** Finally, media outlets frequently make substantial errors or propagate the errors of others and then must adjust and retract data.

Large spikes in the vote count are not necessarily unexplainable or unusual. They do not alone constitute evidence of fraud and can be reasonably expected. Large precincts, particularly with the highest absentee voter turn out ever, took much longer to complete and then reported all their results at once. Further complicating this issue is that the absentee voter ballots counted at a consolidated counting board had to be merged with the votes submitted on Election Day at the corresponding, in- person voting precincts. This makes the spike larger than just the final count from the AVCB. No evidence has been presented to refute this as the legitimate reason for the dramatic jumps in vote counts seen in Michigan.

Regardless, the Committee can only speculate on this because the author of the referenced report cannot provide sources that the Committee can pursue. Without provision of a source to investigate from the author, and as no confirmation of these numbers was provided nor can be ascertained, the Committee does not believe a wide-ranging, blanket allowance to search materials is justifiable or responsible, particularly in light of the extent of the post-election state audit performed and the lack of red flags from the final results in Detroit or Wayne County.

12. Additional Issues

Ballot Box Construction

Testimony was heard from Monica Palmer regarding the roll of boards of canvassers in verifying the construction of ballot boxes. Her board made significant efforts to require repairing or replacing poorly constructed boxes. **This effort is commendable and ought to be extended to the construction of drop boxes, as well. Testimony was also shared that boxes disallowed by the Wayne County Board of Canvassers and labeled to not be used were still being used on Election Day. This is not acceptable, and the Committee asks the secretary of state or the attorney general to investigate who is responsible for this serious breach.**

Modem Usage on Tabulators

Testimony was given regarding the wisdom and necessity of modems for vote tabulators. There was not consensus amongst the clerks and the Committee makes no recommendation at this time. However, the external, detachable modem does provide a reassuring and genuine physical barrier to cyber attacks during the voting process.

Ballot Harvesting

Testimony and allegations of ballot harvesting were made, although no evidence of such was presented. Ballot harvesting has been caught at times in the past, but none was in this election. Drop boxes and prepaid postage do present a greater vulnerability to ballot harvesting. Others have made the argument that prepaid postage might also reduce the likelihood of an individual waiting for someone to collect their ballot. It is worth noting that ballot harvesting, while illegal due to its vulnerability to fraud, is not necessarily indicative of fraudulent voting.

Allegations of Illegal Votes

Testimony and reports of illegal votes, out of state votes, non-residents voting, and deceased voters are prolific, and the numbers included are substantial and compelling. However, no source or reliable method for determining these numbers is presented. References to “317 voters also voting in other states” do not come with explanation or source. Other numbers reported as evidence of fraudulent addresses or issues with residency fail to consider the complications and realities of same day registration (a real problem in its own right, but one voters created through adopting Proposal 3 in 2018). These same day registrations, also addressed earlier in this report, necessitate methods to enter voters into the database while also flagging them for additional checks and verifications later. This is particularly true at the AVCBs as they do not have access to the QVF and their electronic poll books are disconnected during the election. New registrants need lines filled in, but also must be flagged to be connected with the actual entry made in the QVF by the clerk’s office prior to issuing the ballot. Impossible, and obviously contrived, birthdates serve as a rational and simple method for flagging these voters.

Many of the reports and allegations of illegal votes or fraudulent votes conflate issues of illegal or improper process with fraud or illegal votes. Many of these claims ignore the specific and legally required partisan makeup of the election workers and immediately assume that illegally removing watchers and challengers means fraud is occurring and that all ballots should be disqualified.

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Not only would this disenfranchise thousands of legitimate voters by no fault of their own, but it demonstrates a significant leap of logic and an unjustified mistrust of the bipartisan poll workers themselves. The outcome alleged to have occurred during these improperly supervised moments, namely the addition of tens of thousands of prepared ballots, would require a conspiracy of immense proportions: individuals at multiple levels and locations, massive resources of ballot production and pollbook manipulation, and an outcome that does not contain a final number count outside the realms of believability. All of this under the noses of hundreds of bipartisan workers and watchers (as not all were ever dismissed) and without a whisper from the huge pool of people who would know. And all of this to theoretically run up the Biden total in a precinct where he traditionally should have expected better than 90% of the vote but received 88% amidst a relatively unremarkable turnout. **The Committee finds these postulations strain credulity and are simply preposterous. The Committee also notes this theory would directly conflict with the idea the machines were tampered with to miscount the ballots.**

Suspicious Communications

Communications with Dominion to local clerks have been utilized to cause additional fear and mistrust of the company, its equipment, and the election results. While the Committee has not examined or received every document, a small sampling of the most often cited communications are only troubling if considered with the pretext that Dominion is part of a conspiracy to defraud voters. One email after the August primary regarding not saving images is highlighted as evidence of a cover-up. The context in the email, to make electronically transmitting the results after the election with the attachable modem function better, makes the instruction to turn off transmitting the image a reasonable instruction when coupled with there being no law in Michigan to save the images. Emails and communications with Dominion to Antrim County after Nov. 3 are also reasonable as the clerk and others attempted to determine how the tabulators correctly counted the ballots while the clerk's computer showed them incorrectly. **(The saving of ballot images so the ballots can be publicly examined by digital means may be an issue Michigan should consider. Other states are doing this with success.)**

Chain of Custody and Election Material Security

Frequent demands to decertify all or a portion of the vote are accompanied by high sounding language regarding the "chain of custody." This verbiage evokes images of evidence utilized in trials, such as sealed envelopes and locked evidence rooms with sign-out sheets. However, investigating the claims regarding problems with the chain of custody usually finds highlights about the handling and transmission of the unofficial vote counts and the computer systems used to handle them. While concerns about these systems may be justified, it is incredibly misleading and irresponsible to imply this holds any danger to the official vote counts, the tabulators, or the ballots themselves. Similarly, unfair allegations have been leveled against the secretary of state and county and local clerks regarding the instruction to, and deletion of, e-poll book data. The letter instructing this and the action itself is a standard practice, ordered by the federal government and carried out shortly after every election. The law and the letter sent also provide specific instruction not to do so should there be an ongoing legal action regarding the data. All evidence the Committee found shows the law was followed. **The Committee finds insisting this is evidence of a cover up, "Destruction of election artifacts prior to end of 22-month archival requirement," is incredibly misleading, demeaning, and irresponsible.**

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Confusing Terminology

Many of the allegations simply utilize semantics and the confusing, technical nature of elections to drive up doubt. Claims such as “fake birthdays,” “unsupervised ballot duplication,” “system manuals explicitly refer to internet and ethernet connectivity,” and “unsecured and illegal ballot boxes” are just a sampling of the terminologies used. However, each of these has legitimate explanation. The birthday issue is explained elsewhere in this report and involves same day registrations on Election Day. “Unsupervised ballot duplication” is referring to times challengers were unable to watch or were prevented from watching (which were not legal actions) but is misleading because the bipartisan election inspectors/workers were still watching and verifying each other’s work. “System manuals” refer to connectivity because the machines are specifically designed to be connected to transmit the unofficial results and to be connected for other functions – this is not proof they were connected during tabulation. “Unsecured and illegal ballot boxes” refers to the transporting of absentee ballots to the counting board in postal trays. Sealed ballots have never been considered to need to be in a secured and approved container because the envelopes are still sealed. **The Committee recommends this practice be made more secure with manifests and a record of custody**, but it is wrong to accuse anyone of violating the law that was written to address open ballots, *not* those in sealed envelopes.

Blank Ballots and Military Ballots

The presence of blank ballots also provides significant confusion, despite being necessary for the duplication of military ballots and damaged absentee voter ballots. It is noteworthy that attempting to utilize these ballots for any significant level of fraud would require perfectly matching precincts to voters, manipulating poll books with fake dates for requests and receipts of the ballots, voter’s signatures, and the clerk’s signature and time stamp.

One witness testified that none of the military ballots at her table being duplicated were for President Trump. However, upon questioning, the witness recounted she only witnessed a few dozen ballots. This is a very reasonable outcome given the overall performance of the candidates in these precincts and the amount witnessed, which is not statistically significant.

13. Audits

The demand for audits regarding the election began soon after the November election and has continued until now. Several entities have undertaken to conduct audits, sometimes referring to their efforts as “forensic audits.” One of these is detailed earlier in this report, particularly in Finding 5. Several lawsuits regarding audits have been filed.

Proposal 18-3, which was approved by the voters of Michigan and amended the state constitution, guarantees every Michigan elector the right to request an audit, stating that each “elector qualified to vote in Michigan shall have...(t)he right to have the results of statewide elections audited, in such a manner as prescribed by law, to ensure the accuracy and integrity of elections.” The central clause, “in such a manner as prescribed by law,” has resulted in the dismissal of demands of citizens to execute this provided right because the audit performed by the Michigan secretary of state was determined to satisfy this right. Much has been made by several persons that the hand recount in Antrim County was not truly an audit. This is, and was, admitted by the secretary

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of state's office as true in that it was not a precinct audit, but a risk-limiting audit with a risk limit of zero, because all of the ballots were recounted and not just a sample. Furthermore, this does not diminish the profound value of hand recounting every ballot and race in the county as evidence against fraud or other illicitness. However, the actual, mandated audit detailed below was eventually conducted in Antrim County as it was in all Michigan counties.

The audits performed by the Michigan secretary of state and facilitated by county clerks and local officials has faced significant derision by citizens, lawyers, and activist leaders. The accusation is that the secretary of state has a conflict of interest in the result as it is her role as chief election officer which is being judged. However, such allegations demonstrate a significant lack of understanding regarding the rigor and depth of the audit performed, especially its decentralized nature. Auditing of the results is undertaken and administered by the county clerks, with aid and assistance provided by the local city and township clerks, and is another step removed from the secretary of state. The clerks at each of these levels, excepting municipal, are partisans from both major parties.

The extent of the audit is also critical to understanding its dependability and credibility. There are 66 steps clerks are instructed to undertake in the process. The "Post-Election Audit Manual," available online at www.Michigan.gov/sos/post_election_audit_manual_418482_7.pdf, lays out several critical points as to purpose and goals. Notably, they include pre-Election Day and Election Day procedures' fidelity to law and rules. Precincts and races are selected randomly in each county across the state. The audit examines notices, appointments and training, e-Pollbook security, test deck procedures (logic and accuracy testing), military and overseas applications, poll books, and ballot containers. The audit checklist contains 66 points of examination to meet these goals and includes the hand counting of the randomly selected races in randomly selected precincts. Pictured is a completed audit for East Grand Rapids Precinct 5. Citizens can obtain these audit results across the state from their county clerks.

Post-Election Audit Checklist

NOTE: All discrepancies should be explained on the reverse side of this checklist.

County: KENT Jurisdiction: East Grand Rapids Regular Precinct ☒ AV Precinct ☐ Precinct: 5 Audit Date: 12/10/2020

Pre-Election Requirements:	
1. Notice of Registration	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
2. Election	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
3. Public Accuracy Test	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
4. Weekend Hours in GVF	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Election Inspectors:	
5. Appointed by Election Commission	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
6. At least 1 R & 1 D	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
7. Ages available	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
8. Proof of Training	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
9. Proof sent to parties	<input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
E-Pollbook:	
10. Encryption Password	<input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
11. Unique User/Password	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
12. PrivacyZone Active	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
13. Data Saved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
14. Date of Download	11/2/2020
Voting System & Test Deck:	
15. Test Deck Sealed: SN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
16. Seal # Recorded	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
17. Test Deck & T&S Certification Seal # Match	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
18. Tab Seal # Match w/T&S Certification & Pollbook	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
19. Tab Serial # Match w/T&S Certification & Pollbook	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
20. EC Affidavit	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
21. Pre-printed TD-HM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
22. Prelim Test Date:	10/15/2020
23. Public Test Date:	10/26/2020
24. Test Deck Properly Created:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 3 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 4 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 6 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 7 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 8 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 9 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 10 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 11 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 12 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 13 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 14 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 15 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 16 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 17 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 18 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 19 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 20 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 21 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 22 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 23 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 24 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 25 <input 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REPORT ON THE NOVEMBER 2020 ELECTION IN MICHIGAN

The Committee concludes these audits are far from the worthless exercises they have been castigated as being. Many of those criticizing them are misleading concerned citizens to believe the only audit done is the “risk limiting audit.” The risk limiting audit is also performed on top of the major, statewide county audit detailed above. Its purpose is to perform an *additional* spot check on the accuracy and function of the tabulators, but it is not the main audit done.

The Committee recommends providing live video feed and recordings of the audit procedures. The public should have access to view the audit in person when possible and results should be posted online. The Committee also recommends that the Legislature fulfill the commitment of Proposal 2018-3 to guarantee an audit upon request of any elector.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Recommendations

- Place in statute the rights and duties of challengers and poll watchers, requiring they be uniformly trained and held accountable.
- Ensuring combined AVCBs can have more than one challenger per party, with the ability to replace challengers who exit the AVCB location after the sequester is lifted.
- Allow for bipartisan election inspectors for all audits and require the process be open to the public.
- Prohibit the unsolicited mailing of absentee voter ballot applications from the secretary of state to limit the potential for non-Michigan residents voting in elections.
- Establish signature verification requirements via the administrative rules process or statute in order to provide clarity and uniformity to election workers on the proper way to ensure signatures match.
- Require video security on all drop boxes and require all drop boxes be emptied and secured immediately or earlier than 8 p.m. on Election Day to help expedite the processing and tabulation of ballots.
- In order to ensure more accurate voter rolls, allow county clerks greater authority when removing deceased individuals from the Qualified Voter File.
- Allow for the continued pre-processing of absentee ballots the day before Election Day, so long as stringent security measures are kept in place. Pre-processing must occur on the site of tabulation.
- Consider allowing tabulation, which is more secure, to begin in the week preceding Election Day as long as results may not be released until polls are closed on the completion of Election Day.
- Require that best practices for maintaining a balanced precinct on Election Day be part of the necessary training for all precinct workers. Establish a public, published record of all clerks who fail to provide the appropriate training or continuing education to themselves or their employees.
- Reform the canvassing processes by requiring canvassers be present during the canvass activities, expanding certain county boards where population requires it, and provide for additional time for the process to be completed.

REPORT ON **THE NOVEMBER 2020 ELECTION IN MICHIGAN**

Conclusion

The Committee can confidently assert that it has been thorough in examination of numerous allegations of unlawful actions, improper procedures, fraud, vote theft, or any other description which would cause citizens to doubt the integrity of Michigan's 2020 election results. Our clear finding is that citizens should be confident the results represent the true results of the ballots cast by the people of Michigan. The Committee strongly recommends citizens use a critical eye and ear toward those who have pushed demonstrably false theories for their own personal gain. We also conclude citizens should demand reasonable updates and reforms to close real vulnerabilities and unlawful activities that caused much of the doubt and questionability to flourish and could, if unchecked, be responsible for serious and disastrous fraud or confusion in the future.

Further, we commend the innumerable clerks, canvassers, staff, workers, and volunteers across Michigan that make the enormous complexity of elections operate so smoothly, so often. The complexity of the work and the dedication we discovered are astounding and worthy of our sincerest appreciation. We also commend the diligent citizens that took time to report problems and concerns they saw because they want and value fair and free elections above party or personal gain. If all citizens remain vigilant and involved, we will emerge stronger after any challenging time.

Total	2,513	6,267	41	11	31	14	5
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President and Vice President of the United States (Vote for 1)

Precinct	Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris - DEM	Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence - REP	Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen - LIB	Don Blankenship / William Mohr - UST	Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker - GRN	Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson - NLP	Write-in
Banks Township, Precinct 1	349	756	11	1	2	1	3
Central Lake Township, Precinct 1	549	906	16	1	6	0	3
Chestonia Township, Precinct 1	93	197	3	0	0	0	1
Custer Township, Precinct 1	240	521	11	2	1	0	0
Echo Township, Precinct 1	198	392	8	1	2	0	0
Elk Rapids Township, Precinct 1	986	1,025	17	4	9	0	2
Forest Home Township, Precinct 1	610	753	19	1	0	1	2
Helena Township, Precinct 1	306	431	4	0	1	1	0
Jordan Township, Precinct 1	183	371	13	1	1	0	2
Kearney Township, Precinct 1	471	743	16	0	3	0	4
Mancelona Township, Precinct 1	276	835	20	0	0	1	1
Mancelona Township, Precinct 2	247	646	13	2	1	0	1
Milton Township, Precinct 1	769	1,021	18	2	0	3	3
Star Township, Precinct 1	161	462	10	0	0	0	0
Torch Lake Township, Precinct 1	462	526	7	1	2	1	0
Warner Township, Precinct 1	60	163	3	0	0	0	1
Total	6,880	9,748	189	16	28	8	23

United States Senator for State (Vote for 1)

Precinct	Gary Peters - DEM	John James - REP	Valerie L. Willis - UST	Marcia Squier - GRN	Doug Dem - NLP	Write-in
Banks Township, Precinct 1	341	765	3	5	2	3
Central Lake Township, Precinct 1	520	933	9	9	3	0

Total

Banks Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	134
Republican Party (Republican):	520
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	1
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	1
Green Party (Green):	0
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	656

President and Vice President of the United States (1)

Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	349
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	756
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	11
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	2
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	1

Write In 3

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Member of the State Board of Education (2)

Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	278
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	273
Tami Carlone (Republican):	692
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	698
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	24
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	20
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	5
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	5
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	31
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	23
Tom Mair (Green):	17
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	2070

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)

Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	282
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	269
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	709
Carl Meyers (Republican):	684
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	16

Governor of Wayne State University (2)

Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	277
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	257
Don Gates (Republican):	702
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	704
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	31
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	23
Susan Odgers (Green):	31
Write-in:	5
Total Votes:	2030

County Prosecuting Attorney (1)

James L. Rossiter (Republican):	870
Write-in:	14
Total Votes:	884

County Sheriff (1)

Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	877
Write-in:	20
Total Votes:	897

County Clerk (1)

Sheryl Guy (Republican):	875
Write-in:	8
Total Votes:	883

Total

Central Lake Township, Precinct
1

Straight Party Ticket (1)

Democratic Party (Democrat):	227
Republican Party (Republican):	536
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	3
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	3
Green Party (Green):	2
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	771

President and Vice President of the United States (1)

Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	549
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	906
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	16
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	6
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1481

Member of the State Board of Education (2)

Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	457
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	443
Tami Carlone (Republican):	807
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	824
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	28
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	32
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	16
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	12
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	34
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	27
Tom Mair (Green):	17
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	2697

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)

Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	451
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	438
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	845
Carl Meyers (Republican):	807
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	22
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	28
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	13
Crystal Van Sickle (U.S. Taxpayers):	

Governor of Wayne State University (2)

Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	414
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	439
Don Gates (Republican):	825
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	851
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	32
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	23
Susan Odgers (Green):	33
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	2618

County Prosecuting Attorney (1)

James L. Rossiter (Republican):	1082
Write-in:	16
Total Votes:	1098

County Sheriff (1)

Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	1142
Write-in:	21
Total Votes:	1163

County Clerk (1)

Sheryl Guy (Republican):	1109
Write-in:	11
Total Votes:	1120

County Treasurer (1)

Sheryl Guy (Republican):	1109
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Township S for Centra Township (

Stanley A. Bear (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Township C Central La Township (

Judy Kosloski (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Township Tr for Central Township (1

Andrew Smith (Rep	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Township Tr Central Lake Township (2)

Patrick Hanlon (Republican):	
Pat Marshall (Repu	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Justice of St Court (2)

Total

Chestonia Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	45
Republican Party (Republican):	134
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	0
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	0
Green Party (Green):	0
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	179

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	93
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	197
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	3
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	294

Member of the State Board of Education (2)	
Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	84
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	73
Tami Carlone (Republican):	171
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	170
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	8
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	2
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	4
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	4
Tom Mair (Green):	8
Write-in:	5
Total Votes:	537

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)	
Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	77
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	81
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	177
Carl Meyers (Republican):	174
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	2
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	5
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	5

Governor of Wayne State University (2)	
Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	79
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	80
Don Gates (Republican):	175
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	175
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	6
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	6
Susan Odgers (Green):	8
Write-in:	5
Total Votes:	534

County Prosecuting Attorney (1)	
James L. Rossiter (Republican):	216
Write-in:	11
Total Votes:	227

County Sheriff (1)	
Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	233
Write-in:	12
Total Votes:	245

County Clerk (1)	
Sheryl Guy (Republican):	219
Write-in:	12
Total Votes:	231

County Treasurer (1)	
Sherry A. Comben (Republican):	220

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Custer Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	108
Republican Party (Republican):	354
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	1
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	3
Working Class Party (Working Class):	2
Green Party (Green):	1
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	469

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	240
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	521
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	11
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	1
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	775

105th District (1)	
Jonathan Burke (Democrat):	221
Ken Borton (Republican):	534
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	756

Member of the State Board of Education (2)	
Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	201
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	185
Tami Carlone (Republican):	481
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	475
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	23
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	13
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	13
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	5
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	15
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	8
Tom Mair (Green):	15
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1437

(Democrat):	178
Pat O'Keefe (Republican):	491
Tonya Schuitmaker (Republican):	485
Will Tyler White (Libertarian):	22
Janet M. Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	14
John Paul Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	8
Brandon Hu (Green):	10
Robin Lea Laurain (Green):	14
Bridgette Abraham-Guzman (Natural Law):	8
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	1408

Governor of Wayne State University (2)	
Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	172
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	181
Don Gates (Republican):	490
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	486
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	25
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	16
Susan Odgers (Green):	20
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1393

County Prosecuting Attorney (1)	
James L. Rossiter (Republican):	618
Write-in:	12
Total Votes:	630

County Sheriff (1)	
Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	652
Write-in:	11
Total Votes:	663

Total Votes:

County S	
Scott Papinea (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

County Co 5th Distr	
Terry VanAlst (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

County Co 6th Distr	
Brenda Ricksga (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Township for Custer (1)	
Roxann Flake (
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Township Custer To	
Stacy Simon (
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Township for Custer (1)	
Renee Elder (
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Total Votes:

(195)

Justice of Supreme Court (2)	
Susan L. Hubbard:	23
Mary Kelly:	31
Bridget Mary McCormack:	54
Kerry Lee Morgan:	7
Katherine Mary Nepton:	9
Brock Swartzle:	33
Elizabeth M. Welch:	33
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	190

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District Incumbent Position (2)	
Michael J. Kelly:	72
Amy Ronayne Krause:	63
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	135

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District Non-Incumbent Position (1)	
Michelle Rick:	80
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	80

Judge of Circuit Court 13th Circuit Incumbent Position (1)	
Kevin A. Elsenheimer:	83

Total

Echo Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	100
Republican Party (Republican):	230
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	1
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	1
Green Party (Green):	0
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	332

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	198
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	392
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	8
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	2
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	601

Member of the State Board of Education (2)

Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	175
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	169
Tami Carlone (Republican):	351
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	361
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	16
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	13
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	6
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	11
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	9
Tom Mair (Green):	3
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	1118

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)

Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	168
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	171
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	361
Carl Meyers (Republican):	352
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	11
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	13
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	5

Township Trustee for Elk Rapids Township (2)	
Richard D. Hults (Republican):	444
Aaron Isenhardt (Republican):	466
Write-in:	16
Total Votes:	926

Village Trustee for Village of Elk Rapids, Partial Term Ending 11/06/2022 (1)	
Teresa Fosdick:	513
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	517

Justice of Supreme Court (2)	
Susan L. Hubbard:	68
Michelle Rick:	407
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	410

School Board Member for Elk Rapids Schools (3)	
No:	224
Total Votes:	806

Judge of Circuit Court 13th Circuit Incumbent Position (1)	
Kevin A. Elsenheimer:	442
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	445

Total
Elk Rapids Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	327
Republican Party (Republican):	414
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	1
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Working Class Party (Working Class):	2
Green Party (Green):	1
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	746

Village President for Village of Elk Rapids (1)	
James D. Janisse:	486
Write-in:	15
Total Votes:	501

Village Trustee for Village of Elk Rapids (3)	
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President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	784
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	611
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	5
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	5
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	1409

Representative in State Legislature 105th District (1)	
Jonathan Burke (Democrat):	705
Ken Borton (Republican):	661
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	1367

Member of the State Board of Education (2)	
Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	681
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	636
Tami Carlone (Republican):	594
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	607
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	17
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	20
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	10

Incumbent Position (1)	
Kevin A. Elsenheimer:	224
Write-in:	5
Total Votes:	229

Village President for Village of Elk Rapids (1)	
James D. Janisse:	221
Write-in:	15
Total Votes:	236

Village Trustee for Village of Elk Rapids (3)	
Douglas Bronkema:	148
Patricia Ann Perlman:	141
Charlie Pryde:	197
Laura Shumate:	168
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	657

Village Trustee for Village of Elk Rapids, Partial Term Ending 11/06/2022 (1)	
Teresa Fosdick:	234
Write-in:	6
Total Votes:	240

School Board Member for Elk Rapids Schools (3)	
Darryl Antcliff:	166

Total

Elk Rapids Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	81
Republican Party (Republican):	263
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	5
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Working Class Party (Working Class):	0
Green Party (Green):	4
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	354

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	202
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	414
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	12
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	4
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	634

Representative in State Legislature 105th District (1)	
Jonathan Burke (Democrat):	194
Ken Borton (Republican):	410
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	607

Member of the State Board of Education (2)	
Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	154
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	144
Tami Carlone (Republican):	361
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	361
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	29
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	20
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	9
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	7
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	19
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	8
Tom Mair (Green):	12
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	1124

United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	610
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	753
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	19
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	1
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	1386

United States Senator for State (1)	
Gary Peters (Democrat):	580
John James (Republican):	782
Valerie L. Willis (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
Marcia Squier (Green):	5
Doug Dern (Natural Law):	2
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	1373

Representative in Congress 1st District (1)	
Dana Ferguson (Democrat):	532
Jack Bergman (Republican):	817

Forest Home Township, Precinct 1

Total

University of Michigan (2)	
Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	487
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	482
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	710
Carl Meyers (Republican):	674
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	33
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	42
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	8
Crystal Van Sickle (U.S. Taxpayers):	20
Michael Mawilai (Green):	23
Keith Butkovich (Natural Law):	8
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	2490

Trustee of Michigan State University (2)	
Brian Mosallam (Democrat):	471
Rema Ella Vassar (Democrat):	488
Pat O'Keefe (Republican):	713
Tonya Schuitmaker (Republican):	703
Will Tyler White (Libertarian):	43
Janet M. Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	21
John Paul Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	8
Write-in:	13

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District
Non-Incumbent
Position (1)

Sheryl Guy (Republican):	1014
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	1018

County Treasurer (1)	
Sherry A. Comben (Republican):	1001
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	1005

County Register of Deeds (1)	
Patty Niepoth (Republican):	983
Write-in:	7
Total Votes:	990

County Drain Commissioner (1)	
Mark Stone (Republican):	981
Write-in:	6
Total Votes:	987

County Surveyor (1)	
Scott Papineau (Republican):	973
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	977

County Commissioner 5th District (1)	
Terry VanAntstine (Republican):	222
Write-in:	0

1

1

--- PRINTING INTERRUPTED ---

Antrim County
Antrim November 2020
Tuesday, November 3, 2020

Tabulator Name
Helena Township, Precinct 1
ICP

Tabulator ID
8

Voting Location
Helena Township

Precinct:

Helena Township, Precinct 1

Poll Opened

Nov 03/2020 06:16:29

Poll Closed

Nov 03/2020 20:01:52

Report Printed

Nov 03/2020 20:11:08

Unit Model: PCOS-320C (Rev 1072)

Unit Serial: AAFAJHX0088

Protective Counter: 3126

Software Version: 5.5.3-0002

State Proposal 20-1
(1)

Yes:	0
No:	0
Total Votes:	0

State Proposal 20-2
(1)

Yes:	0
No:	0
Total Votes:	0

Certification

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, WERE
PRESENT DURING THE OPENING OF
THE POLLS AND PRINTING OF THIS
RECORD AND CAN VERIFY THAT ALL
CANDIDATE VOTE TOTALS ARE ZERO
AT THIS TIME.

Constance K. Molby
Signature
P. Boyce

Signature

Signature
H. Boyce

President and Vice
President of the
United States (1)

Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	306
--	-----

Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	431
--	-----

Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	4
--	---

Don Blankenship / William	
Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0

Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	1
--	---

Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy	
Richardson (Natural Law):	1

Write-in:	0
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Total Votes: 743

United States
Senator for State
(1)

Gary Peters (Democrat):	294
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John James (Republican):	436
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Valerie L. Willis (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
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Marcia Squier (Green):	4
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Doug Dern (Natural Law):	1
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Write-in:	0
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Total Votes:	737
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Representative in
Congress 1st
District (1)

Dana Ferguson (Democrat):	279
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Non-Incumbent Position (1)	
Michelle Rick:	267
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	271

Judge of Circuit Court 13th Circuit Incumbent Position (1)	
Kevin A. Elsenheimer:	270
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	271

Board Member for Charlevoix-Emmet Intermediate School District 6 Year Term (3)	
Thelma A. Chellis:	227
Jean E. Frentz:	199
Mary P. Jason:	221
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	648

Board Member for Charlevoix-Emmet Intermediate School District Partial Term Ending 12/31/2024 (1)	
Larry Cassidy:	250
Write-in:	7
Total Votes:	257

Total

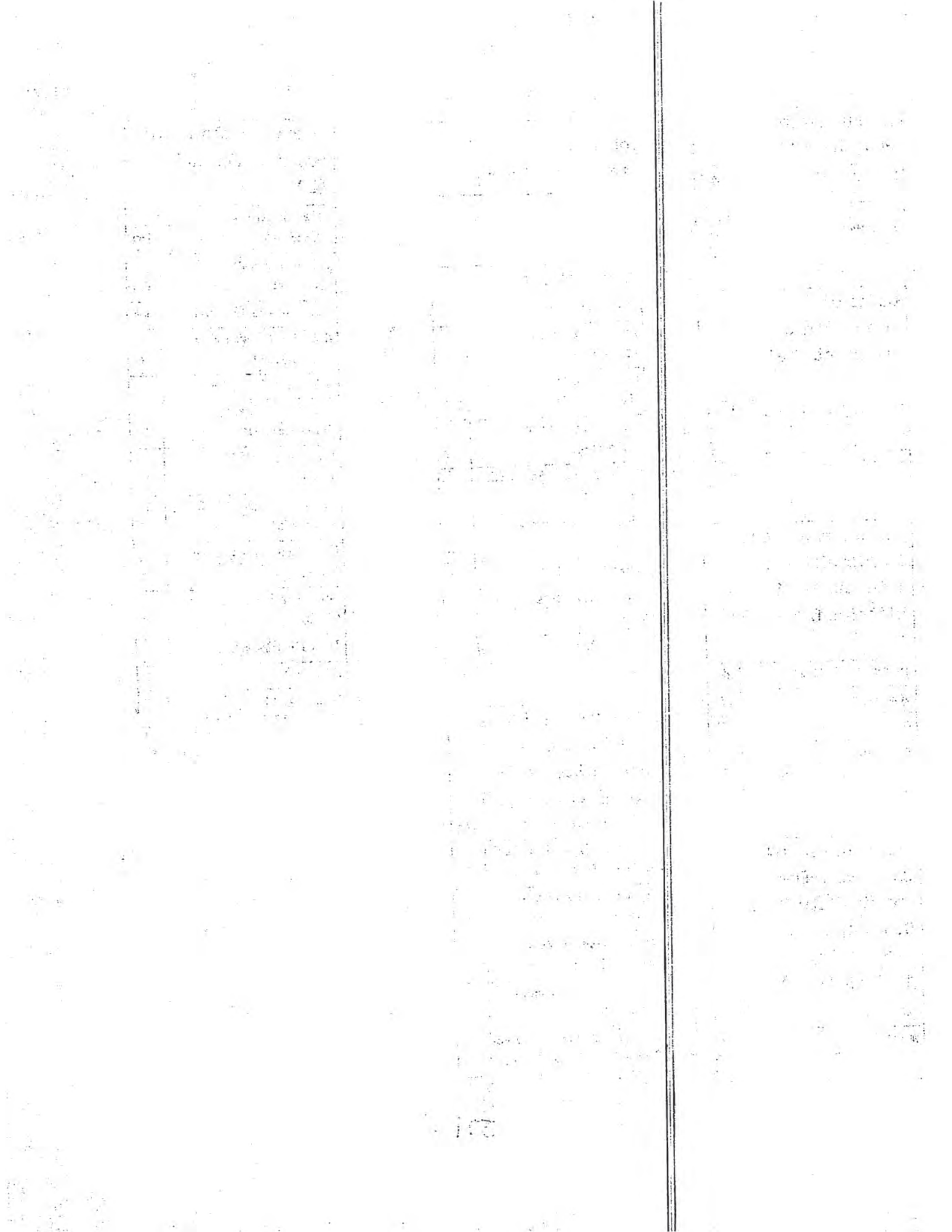
Jordan Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	75
Republican Party (Republican):	252
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	2
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Working Class Party (Working Class):	2
Green Party (Green):	1
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	333

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	183
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	371
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	13
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	1
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	2

Member of the State Board of Education (2)

Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	165
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	154
Tami Carlone (Republican):	334
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	337
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	15
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	12
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	10
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	5
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	15
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	5
Tom Mair (Green):	4
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	1056



Heaney

**Straight Party
Ticket (1)**

Democratic Party (Democrat):	187
Republican Party (Republican):	490
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	2
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	0
Green Party (Green):	1
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	680

**President and Vice
President of the
United States (1)**

Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	471
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	743
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	16
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	3
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	1237

**Member of the State
Board of Education
(2)**

Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	396
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	391
Tami Carlone (Republican):	675
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	667
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	31
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	21
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	7
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	5
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	26
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	22
Tom Mair (Green):	22
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	2263

**Regent of the
University of
Michigan (2)**

Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	401
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	379
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	694
Carl Meyers (Republican):	664
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	20

**Governor of Wayne
State University (2)**

Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	385
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	390
Don Gates (Republican):	668
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	685
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	26
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	17
Susan Odgers (Green):	39
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	2212

**County Prosecuting
Attorney (1)**

James L. Rossiter (Republican):	893
Write-in:	14
Total Votes:	907

County Sheriff (1)

Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	949
Write-in:	18
Total Votes:	967

County Clerk (1)

Sheryl Guy (Republican):	932
Write-in:	9
Total Votes:	941

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Township Treasurer for Mancelona Township (1)	
Jessie Ayoub (Republican):	449
Write-in:	5
Total Votes:	454

Township Trustee for Mancelona Township (2)	
Yousef M. Jabara (Democrat):	120
Rod Vesey (Republican):	415
Donna Gundie-Krieg (Libertarian):	167
Write-in:	9
Total Votes:	711

Township Constable for Mancelona Township (1)	
Linden M. Bielecki (Republican):	448
Write-in:	6
Total Votes:	454

Justice of Supreme Court (2)	
Susan L. Hubbard:	80
Mary Kelly:	109
Bridget Mary McCormack:	208
Kerry Lee Morgan:	79
Katherine Mary Norton:	58

Village Trustee for Village of Mancelona (2)	
Aaron Biehl:	323
Steven Elder:	286
Eugene K. Kerr:	108
Write-in:	8
Total Votes:	725

School Board Member for Mancelona Schools (3)	
Kim Musselman:	330
Tom Ross:	274
Burt Thompson:	264
Write-in:	7
Total Votes:	875

State Proposal 20-1 (1)	
Yes:	419
No:	80
Total Votes:	499

State Proposal 20-2 (1)	
Yes:	446
No:	67
Total Votes:	513

Total
Mancelona Township, Precinct 1

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	276
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	835
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	20
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	1
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	1133

United States Senator for State (1)	
Gary Peters (Democrat):	294
John James (Republican):	803
Valerie L. Willis (U.S. Taxpayers):	9
Marcia Squier (Green):	6
Doug Dern (Natural Law):	7
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	1121

Representative in Congress 1st District (1)	
Dana Ferguson (Democrat):	264
Jack Bergman (Republican):	829

Justice of Supreme Court (2)	
Susan L. Hubbard:	116
Mary Kelly:	215
Bridget Mary McCormack:	304
Kerry Lee Morgan:	65
Katherine Mary Nepton:	99
Brock Swartzle:	226
Elizabeth M. Welch:	165
Write-in:	9
Total Votes:	1199

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District Incumbent Position (2)	
Michael J. Kelly:	524
Amy Ronayne Krause:	452
Write-in:	13
Total Votes:	989

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District Non-Incumbent Position (1)	
Michelle Rick:	579
Write-in:	9
Total Votes:	588

Judge of Circuit Court 13th Circuit Incumbent Position (1)	
Karen A. Elsholtz:	100

Total

Mancelona Township, Precinct 2

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	107
Republican Party (Republican):	399
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	4
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Working Class Party (Working Class):	5
Green Party (Green):	1
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	518

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	247
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	646
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	13
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	1
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	910

Member of the State Board of Education (2)	
Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	214
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	204
Tami Carlone (Republican):	554
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	557
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	22
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	21
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	18
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	13
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	29
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	18
Tom Mair (Green):	4
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1657

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)	
Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	220
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	203
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	575
Carl Meyers (Republican):	544
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	18
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	27
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	13

Antrim County
Antrim November 2020
Tuesday, November 3, 2020

Tabulator Name

Milton Township, Precinct 1

AVCB

Tabulator ID

110

Voting Location

Milton Township

Precinct:

Milton Township, Precinct 1

Poll Opened

Nov 03/2020 06:45:21

Poll Closed

Nov 03/2020 20:22:15

President and Vice
President of the
United States (1)

Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	626
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	543
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	6
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	2
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	1179

United States
Senator for State
(1)

Gary Peters (Democrat):	584
John James (Republican):	583
Valerie L. Willis (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Marcia Squier (Green):	2
Doug Dern (Natural Law):	1
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	1173

Representative in
Congress 1st
District (1)

Dana Ferguson (Democrat):	540
Jack Bergman (Republican):	614
Ben Boren (Libertarian):	9

Regent of the
University of
Michigan (2)

Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	496
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	493
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	549
Carl Meyers (Republican):	530
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	14
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	20
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	3
Crystal Van Sickle (U.S. Taxpayers):	13
Michael Mawilai (Green):	19
Keith Butkovich (Natural Law):	9
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	2148
Total Votes:	2111

County Prosecuting
Attorney (1)

James L. Rossiter (Republican):	743
Write-in:	11
Total Votes:	754

County Sheriff (1)

Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	782
Write-in:	11
Total Votes:	793

Count

Sheryl

Write-in

Total V

Count

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Write-in

Total V

Count:

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Write-in:

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Townshi

for Mil

(1)

Liz Atkins

Write-in:

Total Votes:

--- PRINTING INTERRUPTED ---

Antrim County
Antrim November 2020
Tuesday, November 3, 2020

Tabulator Name
Milton Township, Precinct 1
ICP

Tabulator ID
13

Voting Location
Milton Township

Precinct:

Milton Township, Precinct 1

Poll Opened Nov 03/2020 06:01:49
Poll Closed Nov 03/2020 20:14:17
Report Printed Nov 03/2020 20:18:29

Unit Model: PCOS-320C (Rev 1072)
Unit Serial: AAFAJHX0066
Protective Counter: 5352
Software Version: 5.5.3-0002

Total Scanned: 640
Total Voters: 640

President and Vice President of the United States (1)

Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	143
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	478
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	12
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	1
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	637

United States Senator for State (1)

Gary Peters (Democrat):	134
John James (Republican):	489
Valerie L. Willis (U.S. Taxpayers):	2
Marcia Squier (Green):	6
Doug Dern (Natural Law):	1
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	632

Representative in Congress 1st District (1)

Dana Ferguson (Democrat):	116
Jack Bergman (Republican):	501

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)

Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	112
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	102
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	458
Carl Meyers (Republican):	437
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	14
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	20
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Crystal Van Sickle (U.S. Taxpayers):	8
Michael Mawilai (Green):	7
Keith Butkovich (Natural Law):	7
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	1167

Trustee of Michigan State University (2)

Brian Mosallam (Democrat):	108
Rema Ella Vassar (Democrat):	108
Pat O'Keefe (Republican):	451
Tonya Schuitmaker (Republican):	444
Will Tyler White (Libertarian):	21
Janet M. Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
John Paul Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
Brandon Hu (Green):	5

County Clerk

Sheryl Guy (Repub
Write-in:
Total Votes:

County Treas

Sherry A. Comben (Republican):
Write-in:
Total Votes:

County Regis Deeds (1)

Patty Niepoth (Republican):
Write-in:
Total Votes:

County Drain Commissioner

Mark Stone (Republi
Write-in:
Total Votes:

County Survey

Scott Papineau (Republican):
Write-in:
Total Votes:

Star Ton

Precinct:

Star Township, Precinct 1

Precinct:

Star Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	67
Republican Party (Republican):	299
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	0
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Working Class Party (Working Class):	0
Green Party (Green):	0
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	367

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	161
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	462
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	10
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	633

Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	632

Representative in Congress 1st District (1)

Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	147
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	125
Tami Carlone (Republican):	390
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	395
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	11
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	3
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	8
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	5
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	22
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	12
Tom Mair (Green):	8
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1129

Eric Larson (Libertarian):	9
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	7
Crystal Van Sickle (U.S. Taxpayers):	7
Michael Mawilai (Green):	5
Keith Butkovich (Natural Law):	4
Robin Lea Laurain (Green):	4
Bridgette Abraham-Guzman (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1101

Governor of Wayne State University (2)

Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	133
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	136
Don Gates (Republican):	391
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	401
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	10
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	11
Susan Odgers (Green):	9
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	1094

County Prosecuting Attorney (1)

James L. Rossiter (Republican):	507
Write-in:	5
Total Votes:	512

County Sheriff (1)

Daniel S. Bean (Republican):	525
Write-in:	7
Total Votes:	532

Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

County R Deeds (1)

Patty Niepot (Republican):	
9th Dis:	
Christian M (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Townshi for Sta (1)

Robert Mars	
Write-in:	
Total Votes:	

Townshi Star To

Phyllis Ho (Republican):	
Write-in:	
Total Vote	

Townshi for Sta (1)

Tammi Full	
Write-in:	
Total Vote	

	4
es:	188

y Register of (1)	
epoth can):	188
i:	4
otes:	192

y Drain issioner (1)	
one (Republican):	182
in:	4
Votes:	186

ty Surveyor (1)	
Papineau ilican):	180
-in:	4
Votes:	184

ty Commissioner District (1)	
Bargy (Republican):	180
-in:	6
Votes:	186

nship Supervisor Torch Lake nship (1)	
rt Cook (Republican):	177
e-in:	5
il Votes:	182

Susan L. Hubbard:	18
Mary Kelly:	72
Bridget Mary McCormack:	113
Kerry Lee Morgan:	13
Katherine Mary Nepton:	6
Brock Swartzle:	70
Elizabeth M. Welch:	56
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	350

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District Incumbent Position (2)	
Michael J. Kelly:	140
Amy Ronayne Krause:	135
Write-in:	4
Total Votes:	279

Judge of Court of Appeals 4th District Non-Incumbent Position (1)	
Michelle Rick:	145
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	147

Judge of Circuit Court 13th Circuit Incumbent Position (1)	
Kevin A. Elsenheimer:	144
Write-in:	3
Total Votes:	147

Total

Torch Lake Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	143
Republican Party (Republican):	297
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	3
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	2
Green Party (Green):	0
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	445

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	462
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	526
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	7
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	1
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	2
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	1
Write-in:	0

999

(1)	
Yes:	122
No:	26
Total Votes:	148

Total

Warner Township, Precinct 1

Straight Party Ticket (1)	
Democratic Party (Democrat):	35
Republican Party (Republican):	106
Libertarian Party (Libertarian):	0
U.S. Taxpayers Party (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Working Class Party (Working Class):	0
Green Party (Green):	0
Natural Law Party (Natural Law):	0
Total Votes:	141

President and Vice President of the United States (1)	
Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris (Democrat):	60
Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence (Republican):	163
Jo Jorgensen / Jeremy Cohen (Libertarian):	3
Don Blankenship / William Mohr (U.S. Taxpayers):	0
Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker (Green):	0
Rocky De La Fuente / Darcy Richardson (Natural Law):	0
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	227

105th District (1)	
Jonathan Burke (Democrat):	56
Ken Borton (Republican):	166
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	222

Member of the State Board of Education (2)	
Ellen Cogen Lipton (Democrat):	53
Jason Strayhorn (Democrat):	49
Tami Carlone (Republican):	141
Michelle A. Frederick (Republican):	145
Bill Hall (Libertarian):	3
Richard A. Hewer (Libertarian):	4
Karen Adams (U.S. Taxpayers):	3
Douglas Levesque (U.S. Taxpayers):	3
Mary Anne Hering (Working Class):	3
Hali McEachern (Working Class):	5
Tom Mair (Green):	3
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	412

Regent of the University of Michigan (2)	
Mark Bernstein (Democrat):	50
Shauna Ryder Diggs (Democrat):	49
Sarah Hubbard (Republican):	146
Carl Meyers (Republican):	142
James L. Hudler (Libertarian):	5
Eric Larson (Libertarian):	3
Ronald E. Graeser (U.S. Taxpayers):	2

Brian Mosallam (Democrat):	48
Rema Ella Vassar (Democrat):	48
Pat O'Keefe (Republican):	152
Tonya Schuitmaker (Republican):	140
Will Tyler White (Libertarian):	4
Janet M. Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	4
John Paul Sanger (U.S. Taxpayers):	3
Brandon Hu (Green):	2
Robin Lea Laurain (Green):	3
Bridgette Abraham-Guzman (Natural Law):	3
Write-in:	0
Total Votes:	407

Governor of Wayne State University (2)	
Eva Garza Dewaelsche (Democrat):	50
Shirley Stancato (Democrat):	47
Don Gates (Republican):	146
Terri Lynn Land (Republican):	147
Jon Elgas (Libertarian):	5
Christine C. Schwartz (U.S. Taxpayers):	6
Susan Odgers (Green):	3
Write-in:	1
Total Votes:	405

County Prosecuting Attorney (1)	
James L. Rossiter (Republican):	178
Write-in:	2
Total Votes:	180

County Sheriff (1)	
Daniel S. Bean	

Mark S
Write-
Total

Cour
Scott (Repu
Write-
Total

Cour
7th
Dawn (Repu
Write
Total

Tow
for
(1)
Marti (Repu
Write
Total

Tow
War
Pamel (Repu
Write
Total

Tow
for
(1)
Lori (Repu
Write
Total

EXHIBIT 2

Detroit Free Press

ELECTIONS

Michigan GOP senators file 39 election reform bills Democrats call racist, based on lies

Dave Boucher and Clara Hendrickson Detroit Free Press

Published 3:50 p.m. ET Mar. 24, 2021 | Updated 6:31 p.m. ET Mar. 24, 2021

Michigan Republican senators joined a national push Wednesday seeking new election regulations and restrictions, following a conservative movement calling for changes despite no evidence of widespread voting fraud or misconduct associated with the 2020 election.

While GOP leaders say the bills will make it easier to vote and harder to cheat, Democrats and other opponents argue the proposals will restrict voting and are premised on lies perpetuated by former president Donald Trump and his supporters. The proposals drawing the most ire would introduce new identification requirements for requesting absentee ballots, prohibit the secretary of state from making absentee ballot applications available online, ban clerks from supplying prepaid return postage for absentee ballots, bar clerks from counting absentee ballots in the weeks leading up to the election and impose new requirements for ballot drop boxes.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Shirkey, R-Clarklake, said the bills are intended to make it easier to vote and harder to cheat. State Sen. Erika Geiss, D-Taylor, said the bills "put lipstick on Jim Crow" and were racist.

"For our democratic system to work, we must ensure the people of Michigan have the ability and opportunity to exercise their right to vote and have confidence in the fairness and accuracy of elections," said state Sen. Ruth Johnson, R-Holly, and a former secretary of state.

"This legislation includes commonsense measures that will protect the integrity of our elections by safeguarding the right for people to vote and ensuring our elections are safe and secure."

More: Michigan completes most comprehensive post-election audit in state history: What it showed

More: House passes election reforms aimed at cleaning up voter rolls, supporting absentee voting

Among the proposed changes contained in the 39 bills:

- Require drop boxes for absentee ballots to be approved by the secretary of state and the county board of canvassers.

- Require the removal of absentee ballot drop boxes used in the November general election that aren't approved.

- Implement new requirements for monitoring such boxes. (SB 273)

- Allow those between the ages of 16 and 17½ to pre-register to vote if they meet certain conditions. (SB 274)

- Allow individuals from each political party to observe and record election audits carried out at precincts and allow clerks to provide live video coverage of counting boards tasked with processing and counting absentee ballots. (SB 275)

- Authorize election inspectors, challengers and poll watchers to photograph and film the tabulation of votes. (SB 276)

- Allow county clerks to flag deceased voters in the qualified voter file — which houses each voter's information and is widely used for many election needs — and require them to notify local clerks of any people who have died in the county every two weeks and then every week the 45 days before an election. (SB 277)

- Require those collecting absentee ballots from drop boxes to carry ballots in approved containers and require clerks to document each time ballots are collected. (SB 278)

- Modify the number of election challengers allowed to observe absent voter counting boards based on the number of absentee ballots assigned to the board. (SB 279)

- Require the board of state canvassers to complete the canvass of an initiative petition within 100 days after the petition is filed. (SB 280)

- Require the secretary of state to collect information from multistate programs and partnerships the secretary of state is participating in to verify voters' addresses and registration status. Require the secretary of state to post on the department of state's website the number of voters who moved out of state, the number of voters who changed

addresses, duplicate voter registration records, voters who died and the results of investigations concerning improper votes among other information. (SB 281)

Limit who can access the qualified voter file. (SB 282)

Change the deadline for county board of canvassers to examine ballot containers. Allow clerks in large jurisdictions to begin processing but not counting absentee ballots the day before the election. (SB 283)

Require the secretary of state to provide a report to the Legislature detailing any contracts entered into for an election-related activity or service. Prohibit the state, counties, cities and townships from accepting contributions from individuals and entities to be used for election-related activities or election equipment. (SB 284)

Require those requesting an absentee ballot to present identification to their local clerk or attach a copy of their ID to their application. Require clerks to issue a provisional absentee ballot to those who fail to show ID. (SB 285)

Prohibit voters from using a drop box after 5 p.m. the day before Election Day. (SB 286)

Prohibit clerks from providing prepaid postage for absentee ballot return envelopes and prohibit the secretary of state from providing funding for prepaid postage. (SB 287)

Require statewide election audits conducted in a precinct to be carried out by members of the two major political parties and allow political parties to designate observers to monitor the audit and require the secretary of state to provide live video streaming of an audit. (SB 288)

Require federal funds for election-related purposes to only be spent upon appropriation in a budget act and require any funds that aren't appropriated within a budget act within 90 days to be returned to the federal government. (SB 289)

Require election challengers to wear an identification badge. (SB 290)

Amend the criminal code to expand election-related felonies. (SB 291)

Require the secretary of state to establish training for election challengers. Require challengers to be associated with a political party, as opposed to groups advocating for a ballot proposition, and mandate they take training at least once every three years. Parties would need to offer this training at least three days before an election. (SB 292)

Repeal a portion of criminal law related to election challengers appointed by entities that are not political parties. SB 292 bill would only allow political parties to provide challengers. (SB 293)

Require the local board of election commissioners to strive to appoint the same number of Democratic and Republican election inspectors for every election precinct. This can be a challenge in areas that have substantially more Republican

or Democratic voters — chiefly Detroit. If the board cannot appoint an essentially equal number of inspectors based on the party, the local clerk would need to send a report to the state within 10 days of the election explaining what was done to search for inspectors. (SB 294)

Require hourly checks by precinct officials to ensure that during the ballot counting process, the number of ballots issued at a precinct matches the number of ballots tabulated at a precinct. While this law is intended to prevent out-of-balance precincts, it seemingly doesn't account for someone receiving an absentee ballot but not ultimately casting it. (SB 295)

Abolish every existing board of canvassers in a county with at least 200,000 starting in 2022. In a county with 200,000 to 750,000 people, it would require six-member boards. In larger counties, it would require eight-member boards. While boards now generally consist of four people, keeping boards at an even number would still allow for the chance that certification votes end in a tie. (SB 296)

Require at least one Republican and Democrat be present at all times during an election canvass. Require board approval for the clerk to hire any associate who would help with the canvass. (SB 297)

Extend the amount of time for an election canvass to be certified from 14 days after an election to 21 days. (SB 298)

Require election inspectors to deliver the statement of election returns and a vote tally sheet in a sealed envelope to the local clerk by noon the day after the election. (SB 299)

Require holding on-site early voting from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on the second Saturday before any election. Clerks would need to post where and when early voting sites would be open. It would be a felony to reveal results from an early voting period until after polls closed on Election Day. (SB 300)

Create criminal violations for tampering with ballots cast early or with revealing the results from early voting. (SB 301)

Require voter registration applications include a provision where applicants attest that they do not claim voting residence or have the right to vote in another state. It's unclear whether this would entail whether a person is registered to vote in another state, even if that person moved away from that state to Michigan. (SB 302)

Ramp up the state's voter identification requirements. Right now, voters who do not have photo identification can sign an affidavit attesting to their identity. This bill would instead mandate that they be issued provisional ballots, subject to a separate process of counting and verification. (SB 303)

Outline how voters who want their provisional ballots to count would verify their identity. The bill would require these voters to prove their identity within six days of the election — if they present a government-issued ID that does not include an address, voters would also need to present a document such as a utility bill or bank statement verifying their address. (SB 304)

Ban elected officials from including their names on publicly funded materials that have anything to do with elections. Officials could post the names of offices and contact information, but not the name of the election official. In theory, this would prohibit the secretary of state or county clerks from using taxpayer dollars to campaign while spreading election information. In practice, the measure would likely make it a misdemeanor for an elected official to post a news release with a quote on social media. (SB 305)

Require the secretary of state to submit a report to the Legislature and publicly post within 45 days of an election the names of all local clerks who have not conducted required training. (SB 306)

Require the full text of a ballot proposal be included on absentee ballots and ballots cast in person. (SB 307)

Mandate the secretary of state create a signature verification process and that local clerks be trained on that process. This comes in response to misinformation about signatures on absentee ballot applications and absentee ballots. (SB 308)

Outline rules and regulations for poll watchers and poll challengers. It explains the duties of both positions, where they are allowed to stand on Election Day, what they are allowed to challenge and how to resolve disputes. Republicans argued challengers and watchers at TCF Center in Detroit were prevented from monitoring election workers last fall, but the city and Democrats argued these challengers did not understand their roles and ignored COVID-19 social distancing guidelines. (SB 309)

Prohibit the secretary of state from either mailing absentee ballot applications or posting these applications on a website. The secretary could only mail an application to someone who requested that application. It was not immediately clear whether any other entity — such as local clerks or political parties — would be banned from mailing out unsolicited applications. Republicans routinely argue mailing out applications to voters who did not request them may increase the chances of voter fraud. Voter fraud is exceptionally rare, and there is no evidence that mass mailings of applications drastically increases fraud. (SB 310)

Allow active duty service members who are deployed at the time of an election to cast a ballot electronically, as long as signature verification measures are created and used. (SB 311)

The proposed reforms come months after supporters of former President Donald Trump repeatedly and falsely stated there was rampant election misconduct in Michigan.

At no point did the Trump campaign or any of his supporters provide any credible evidence of widespread election fraud or misconduct. Instead, they relied on misleading reports, eyewitness accounts from untrained election monitors and conspiracy theories from attorneys now facing billion-dollar defamation lawsuits. Polls consistently find that a majority of Republican voters in the country question the legitimacy of the election results.

"No one should be fooled: This is nothing more than an extension of lies and deceit about the last election. We cannot and should not make policy based on the Big Lie," said Senate Minority Leader Jim Ananich, D-Flint.

"Our elections are fair and safe and that has been the case under Republican administrations and Democratic administrations. The fact that Republicans didn't win as many races as they wanted to does not justify their attempt to silence voters. In the end, we know these despicable efforts to keep Michiganders from the polls will not succeed."

More: Antrim County hand tally affirms certified election results

More: Fiery Giuliani tells Michigan lawmakers election stolen, offers no credible evidence

Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson called the Republican package a "reprehensible rollback of the right to vote" that comes after Michigan voters passed a constitutional amendment in 2018 to expand voting access in the state by allowing voters to vote absentee for any reason. "Many of the bills in this package will make it harder for citizens to vote. Rather than introducing bills based on disproven lies and copied from other states, lawmakers should be codifying what worked in 2020," she said.

Chris Swope, who serves as president of the Michigan Association of Municipal Clerks and is Lansing's clerk, said the package "contains some of the most egregious voter suppression ideas Michigan has seen." He said lawmakers should "focus on expanding ballot access, not attempts to disenfranchise certain voters."

Voting rights advocates also spoke out against the measures.

Sharon Dolente, a senior adviser for the Promote the Vote Coalition, said that "record turnout isn't a reason to make it harder for some or impossible for others to vote. Michigan needs to look forward and continue creating a voting system that works for all of us."

Christina Schlitt, president of the League of Women Voters of Michigan, said the bills "are antithetical to fair elections and violate the clear will of Michigan voters who participated in record numbers in 2020."

And Nancy Wang, executive director of Voters Not Politicians, the group behind a constitutional amendment that has created Michigan's citizens redistricting commission, said that "Senate Republicans joined the coordinated, national effort to make it harder for voters to exercise our right to vote." She pledged to mobilize against efforts to "suppress the vote in Michigan."

Michigan lawmakers have already introduced measures to address some of the issues that arose from the general election. One bill would require more training for anyone who wanted to serve as a poll monitor or watcher. Another would allow county clerks to remove dead people from voting rolls — although no dead people voted.

A pair of bills introduced by GOP lawmakers that recently passed the House would require voters with unknown birth dates and those who haven't voted in a long time to take steps to ensure their registration isn't canceled.

Rep. Matt Hall, R-Emmett Township, introduced legislation requiring voters assigned a placeholder birth date to verify their actual birth date. He said it had nothing to do with allegations of misconduct by Trump supporters during the November election. Instead, he said that it was crafted to implement recommendations put forward in a December 2019 report by the Office of the Auditor General for improving voter list maintenance in Michigan.

More: Michigan Senate GOP leader Shirkey falsely claims dead people voted

But the proposals offered by Republicans in the Senate go far beyond any problems seen in the last general election. Instead, Democrats and voting rights advocates argue the measures are the latest efforts to curb voting by people who tend to oppose GOP candidates.

More: Michigan election bills take aim at dormant voters, those with unknown birthdates

More: Sidney Powell team doubles down on debunked election claims in attempt to avoid sanctions

State Republican lawmakers around the country have moved forward with measures that would restrict voting access seemingly in response to baseless claims of a stolen election.

Heritage Action, a conservative group tied to the right-leaning Heritage Foundation, recently announced it plans to spend \$10 million to push election reforms in several battleground states, including Michigan. And a group called Rescue Michigan Coalition has released its own draft plan for reforming Michigan's election law that would significantly roll back voting access in Michigan. The group's leadership includes Shane Trejo, a reporter for the right-wing website Big League Politics who peddled misinformation about election training in Detroit.

There are many legislative hurdles the Republican measures introduced Wednesday must still clear before they could take effect. The House and Senate need to agree on and approve any bills before Gov. Gretchen Whitmer would have the chance to sign them into law.

Contact Dave Boucher: dboucher@freepress.com or 313-938-4591. Follow him on Twitter @Dave_Boucher1.

EXHIBIT 3

The Detroit News

POLITICS

Michigan GOP leader reveals plans to go around Whitmer for voting law overhaul

Craig Mauger The Detroit News

Published 9:54 a.m. ET Mar. 26, 2021 | Updated 4:37 p.m. ET Mar. 26, 2021

Lansing — Michigan Republicans are crafting plans to work around Democratic Gov. Gretchen Whitmer to make changes to the battleground state's voting laws after losses in the 2020 election.

Ron Weiser, chairman of the Michigan GOP, told the North Oakland Republican Club Thursday night that the party wants to blend together bills proposed in the House and Senate for a petition initiative.

If Republicans gathered enough signatures — more than 340,000 would be needed — the GOP-controlled Legislature could approve the proposal into law without Whitmer being able to veto it.

Senate Republicans unveiled 39 bills Wednesday to require applicants for absentee ballots to present a copy of identification, overhaul large counties' canvassing boards and bar Democratic Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson from sending absentee ballot applications to voters unless they specifically request the applications.

"If that legislation is not passed by our Legislature, which I am sure it will be, but if it's not signed by the governor, then we have other plans to make sure that it becomes law before 2022," Weiser said, according to a video posted on social media.

"That plan includes taking that legislation and getting the signatures necessary for a legislative initiative so it can become law without Gretchen Whitmer's signature," Weiser added.

In states across the country this year, Republicans have advanced changes to voting laws after former President Donald Trump lost to Democrat Joe Biden on Nov. 3 and made unproven claims of voter fraud.

Democrats argue that the national push is a continuation of Trump's effort to overturn the results and would restrict access to ballots in future elections to benefit the GOP's chances of winning. On Thursday, Weiser said Michigan Republican Party district chairs received a briefing on the Senate legislation from Sen. Aric Nesbitt, R-Lawton.

"Those two pieces of legislation, melded together, are going to create an opportunity for us to have a fair election in 2022," Weiser said, referring to proposals in the House and Senate.

The Senate bills would place restrictions on ballot drop boxes and would bar local governments from providing prepaid postage for absentee ballot return envelopes as some did to encourage participation last year. Another bill would require voters without photo identification to vote through a provisional ballot.

Earlier this week, Senate Minority Leader Jim Ananich, D-Flint, said Michigan's elections are already fair and have been under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

"The fact that Republicans didn't win as many races as they wanted to does not justify their attempt to silence voters," Ananich said.

During a Thursday morning appearance at the Michigan Chronicle's Pancakes and Politics event, Whitmer said she opposed the Republican election proposals.

"I have a veto pen, and I am ready to use that for any bill that is looking to make it harder for people in our state to vote," the governor said.

On Dec. 17, a ballot committee called Secure MI Vote was formed in Michigan, according to campaign finance disclosures. The group's treasurer is Paul Cordes, Weiser's chief of staff.

Lavora Barnes, chairwoman of the Michigan Democratic Party, said that 2.7 million Michigan residents voted in 2018 for "the most comprehensive reform to our election system in the state's history."

Among other changes, that constitutional amendment allowed for no-reason absentee voting. It passed with 67% support. Republicans wouldn't be able to unilaterally change the state Constitution through an initiative petition.

"The voters have spoken on election reform," Barnes said. "The MIGOP has decided to ignore the will of the voters with this ridiculous package of bills designed to make it harder to vote, especially for Black and Brown citizens.

"This is how the Michigan Republicans do business. First, they lose. Then they lie. And then they find ways to suppress the vote, because even they know that when people vote, Democrats win."

The Michigan GOP didn't immediately return a request Friday morning for comment.

But during Thursday's presentation, Weiser said the party plans to have a program to back its upcoming initiative, in which the state organization will pay local county parties to gather signatures. The county parties will then use the money they receive to support local candidates, the chairman said.

"Having those people be successful is so important to the future of our country," Weiser said.

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EXHIBIT 4

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Michigan Government

We read all Michigan election reform bills. Many would add hurdles to voting.



Michigan Republicans have proposed a 39-bill package of reform bills they say will make voting easier and cheating harder. Michigan clerks say they wish they'd been consulted before the legislation was written. (Bridge file photo)

**April 9, 2021****[Jonathan Oosting](#)****[Michigan Government](#)****[2020 Michigan election, 2020 U.S. presidential election](#)**

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**[June 23: GOP investigation finds no Michigan vote fraud, deems many claims 'ludicrous'](#)****[June 16: Michigan GOP passes voter ID bill to deter 'fraud.' Critics call it 'garbage'](#)**

LANSING — Michigan Republicans say they want to make it “easier to vote and harder to cheat” with a sweeping election reform package. In fact, many of the bills would make it harder to vote and address “fraud” that experts say is incredibly rare.

Bridge Michigan reviewed all 39 Senate bills that could be the basis of a [statewide petition drive](#) to circumvent a likely veto by Democratic Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, including measures that would limit voter access to absentee ballot drop boxes and require photo ID to vote in person or by mail.

Related:

- **[Michigan GOP officials, activists push for 2020 election audit](#)**
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- [How Republicans plan to tighten Michigan voting laws, evade Whitmer veto](#)
- [Michigan GOP unveils election 'reforms.' Most would make voting harder.](#)

We spoke with attorneys, election officials, voting rights advocates and other experts to ensure we understood the bills and how they could impact Michigan voters.

That's something Senate Republicans did not appear to do, according to GOP and Democratic clerks, who object to some of the provisions and question whether the bills are motivated by false fraud claims from former President Donald Trump and his supporters.

"The standard of proof needs to be pretty high if you're going to make life worse for a voter," said Ottawa County Clerk Justin Roebuck, a Republican who co-chairs the Michigan Association of County Clerks' legislative committee.

Democratic President Joe Biden beat Trump by 154,188 votes in Michigan, but not before Trump had [prematurely declared victory](#), fueling conspiracy theorists who continue to argue the election was stolen despite numerous state audits confirming its validity and accuracy.

Some of the bills make sense as a way to "secure our electoral process and maybe increase confidence in some elements of the process," Roebuck added. But there is no evidence of fraud to justify strict voter ID requirements the plan proposes, he said.

The legislation "makes it more difficult to vote in a number of ways," said Canton Township Clerk Michael Siegrist, a Democrat. "It makes it more difficult to administer elections, and it really shifts a lot of the power ... to the political parties."

The bills, taken together, would add restrictions that would have a greater onus on predominantly Democratic counties, allowing Republicans to block the placement of

absentee drop boxes and setting deadlines for vote counting that could be hard to meet.

Here are some of the most important provisions in the Senate GOP plan, and how they would impact voters and election administration. (Note: The bills could be amended during the legislative process. Committee hearings have not yet started).

All voters would need an ID to vote in-person or by mail

What's new: Michigan generally requires an ID to vote in person, but allows voters without one to cast a ballot after signing an affidavit of identity, under penalty of perjury.

That option would end under [Senate Bill 303](#), which instead would require voters without ID to cast a “provisional ballot” that wouldn’t be counted on Election Day — and would only count if the voter returned to the clerk and presented both a photo ID and proof of residence, such as a utility bill or bank statement.

[Senate Bill 304](#) would require election staff to provide notice to provisional ballot voters that they may qualify for a free photo ID from the state if they are over the age of 65 or have already qualified for state assistance programs.

But that’s not new, and the voter would still have to visit a Secretary of State’s office to apply for the ID, which would otherwise cost \$10.

Absentee ballots: Now, absentee ballot applicants must sign an application, which election staffers compare to signatures on file. Under [Senate Bill 285](#), absentee ballot applicants would have mail clerks a copy of their photo ID or bring it to the clerk’s office.

Analysis: Polls show that [voter ID proposals are popular among voters](#), many of whom agree with Republicans that they’re a commonsense effort to increase security.

But experts and officials who spoke to Bridge Michigan said the reforms are a solution in search of a problem and could disenfranchise voters, particularly those who are less likely to have a driver license because of cost, lack of transportation or other factors.

Some studies estimate as many as 13 percent of African-American residents nationwide lack a government-issued ID. Nationwide, an estimated 3 million Americans of all races lack ID, [according to the Brennan Center for Justice](#).

“I’m sure it will reduce voter turnout, especially amongst people with lower income and people with disabilities,” said Inkster Clerk Felicia Rutledge, a Democrat.

It’s unclear how many Michigan voters don’t have an ID, and the Secretary of State’s office said it has not yet finished compiling data on the number of voters who used the affidavit option last year.

Roughly 7.5 million U.S. citizens over the age of 18 have a valid driver license or ID card, according to the state. There are 7.9 million adults residents in Michigan, but that figure includes undocumented immigrants and others not allowed to vote.

The new ID requirement for absentee ballots could also pose a challenge for those without a printer or photocopier, said Roebuck, the Ottawa County Republican.

And by including a copy of their ID in an easily identifiable absentee ballot application envelope, voters may end up susceptible to identity theft, he said.

“The end result will be legitimate ballots will not count on Election Day, and I think that’s really unfortunate,” Roebuck said. “I’ve had zero cases of voter impersonation brought to my attention in the 13 years that I’ve been an election official in my county.”

Drop boxes could be blocked, locked

What's new: Absentee drop boxes became popular statewide in 2020, as more than [700 were placed in 300-plus Michigan communities last year](#) as a way of reducing exposure during a global pandemic.

Detroit installed 30 last year, while there were 12 in Flint and seven in Grand Rapids.

Unlike a controversial Georgia law that has caused national controversy, the Michigan proposal wouldn't limit the number of absentee ballot drop boxes that local election officials could utilize in an election.

But [Senate Bill 273](#) would require the Secretary of State and county Board of Canvassers to approve any drop boxes, which could allow partisans to block them at the local level.

Under current law, each county board is composed of two Democrats and two Republicans. And if those two Republicans won't vote to approve drop boxes, for instance, election officials in those counties couldn't use them.

[Senate Bill 286](#) would require clerks to lock drop boxes for the last time at 5 p.m. the day before an election, meaning voters could no longer use absentee ballot drop boxes on Election Day.

Instead, last-minute absentee voters would need to personally drop off their ballot at their clerk's office. If a voter tried to mail the ballot instead, it likely would not reach the clerk's office by the time polls close on Election Day and therefore would not be counted.

The Senate GOP proposal also includes a host of [new security requirements](#) for absentee ballot drop boxes to ensure they are locked and monitored at all times by high-definition video cameras. It would require clerks to maintain a "chain of custody" log to document ballot box collections and deliveries. And any drop box must include a warning to voters reminding them that they may be on video, and that Michigan law only allows a voter or their immediate family to drop off ballots.

Analysis: Election officials say there is no good reason to close drop boxes the evening before the election, which can help reduce congestion in the clerk's office on what is already a very busy Election Day.

And in these hyper-partisan times, it doesn't make sense to condition the use of dropboxes on approval by county boards that are partisan by design, said Siegrist, the Canton Township Democrat.

"I don't know that I trust people that tried to throw out my vote to certify my drop box," Siegrist said, noting he and other voters were almost disenfranchised last fall when Republicans on the Wayne County Board of Canvassers initially refused to certify the local results.

Roebuck, the Ottawa County clerk, said the proposed security measures "totally make sense" so long as local governments can afford to pay for them.

The bill doesn't include any funding for security, though, which makes it an "unfunded mandate," argued Rutledge, the Inkster clerk.

"Especially with COVID right now, we just don't have the means," she said.

No more prepaid postage on absentee or outside aid

What's new: Michigan voters chose to write no-reason absentee balloting into the state constitution in 2018, and Republican legislators could not change that without another vote of the people.

But [Senate Bill 287](#) would prohibit local clerks from providing free return postage for absentee ballots, even if the Secretary of State gave them funding to do so.

Pre-paid return postage is currently allowed, but Republicans contend it's created an uneven playing field where some communities pay for return postage and others do not.

The Legislature could solve that problem by approving funding for statewide return postage, but the GOP plan instead proposes a blanket ban.

[Senate Bill 284](#) would prohibit election officials from accepting outside funding for election administration or equipment. This appears to be a response to grants from the Center for Tech and Civil Life that were fueled by a \$250 million contribution from Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg.

Trump supporters initially alleged last year's grants targeted Democratic communities, but the nonprofit reports that it provided funding to every local government that requested it, regardless of politics. More than 470 Michigan communities, led by Republicans and Democrats alike, received grants to hire additional elections staff, pay for absentee ballot mailings, buy election equipment and personal protection equipment for workers, among other things.

Zuckerberg's involvement fueled conspiracy theories, but he wasn't the only outside funder. Flint native Kyle Kuzma, an NBA basketball player, gave the city \$10,000 to install absentee ballot drop boxes last year. And, perhaps inadvertently, the bill could also prohibit groups like the Michigan Association of Municipal Clerks from helping local governments pay for supplies.

[Senate Bill 310](#) would prohibit the state from mailing absentee ballot applications to voters who did not request one. The state's top election official could not even send voters unsolicited postcards that link to an online application form.

Democratic Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson spent some of Michigan's \$4.4 million in federal elections aid to mail absentee ballots to voters across the state.

The Michigan Court of Appeals ruled Benson had the authority to send the applications, but Republicans argued the mass mailing could open the door to voter fraud because some applications were sent to the wrong address or to dead voters whose names had not yet been removed from the state rolls.

Analysis: There is no evidence the mailings led to any fraud, or that applications sent to the wrong address were filled out illegally in an attempt to receive ballot.

Siegrist noted that both political parties mailed absentee ballot applications to voters, often alongside promotional materials telling voters which candidates they should vote for.

"Why is it OK for political parties to send out propaganda with applications, but the government can't send out neutral applications?" he asked. "This is taking power away from the professional election administrators and really ensuring that the process is more partisan."

Roebuck said there are legitimate concerns over private funding being used to run public elections — "what would some of my Democratic colleagues say if the DeVos family decided to fund elections in Michigan?" — but he noted locals may not have sought the grants last year had the Legislature "adequately" funded election administration.

Banning free return postage for absentee ballots could make it harder for some residents to vote, but Roebuck said pre-paid envelopes may not be a good use of government funding in all communities. He's encouraging voters in Ottawa County to use drop boxes.

"Uniformity needs to be the answer, and I don't understand what problem that's solving to say that we can't pay for postage," Roebuck said.

Results could be delayed — again

What's new: Local election officials last year pleaded with the Michigan Legislature to allow them to process — and begin counting — absentee ballots days or weeks before Election Day.

The Republican majority gave them one day and only allowed pre-processing, which essentially amounted to opening outer mailing envelopes and stacking ballots for counting the next day.

Officials predicted lengthy reporting delays, and that happened in some parts of the state, especially big cities with many Democratic voters. That gave Trump an opening to falsely claim he had won Michigan because he led early returns.

[Senate Bill 334](#) would make permanent that one day window for pre-processing, but it would not expand the allowance even though Majority Leader Mike Shirkey has touted absentee ballot processing in Florida, where can begin counting absentee ballots weeks before Election Day.

[Senate Bill 299](#) would create a new deadline for election clerks to finish counting ballots and report results to the County Board of Canvassers by noon the day after the election.

Analysis: While 2020 was unusual because of the pandemic, election officials expect absentee voting to be the new normal, and they continue to urge lawmakers to allow them to begin counting the ballots before Election Day.

The Senate GOP plan doesn't do that. Instead, it demands that clerks speed up their Election Day counts to report all results by noon the following day, which could be a challenge in larger cities that tend to vote Democratic.

“Clearly, the clerk community was not consulted on any of these 39 bills,” said Roebuck, the Ottawa County Republican. “That's very obvious.”

Siegrist, the Democratic clerk from Canton Township, said it may be impossible for some communities to meet the deadline, which would put them in a position of either breaking the

law or stopping the count.

“There's no way we're going to stop tabulating ballots,” he said. “If somebody returns a ballot by the deadline, and we can't process them by 12 noon the next day, I'm not going to violate their constitutional right to vote. I'll take the ding. There's no way we're gonna deliver an unfinished election to the county.”

Political party challengers could video record

What's new: The Senate GOP proposal includes several new training requirements for election workers and poll challengers.

Local officials and experts say that's sorely needed given that drama that unfolded last year at the TCF Center in Detroit, where GOP challengers flooded an absentee counting board with demands that workers “stop the count” because of false fraud claims.

But election officials are concerned about [Senate Bill 292](#), which would prohibit nonpartisan groups from designating poll challengers allowed to observe and contest the validity of ballots.

That means only political parties could designate challengers, not groups like the League of Women Voters, the ACLU and the NAACP that are currently granted access to guard “against the abuse of the elective franchise.”

[Senate Bill 276](#) would allow those political party poll challengers to video record ballot tabulation inside polling places and absentee counting boards.

Analysis: Allowing video recording of ballot tabulation might build confidence in the count, but election officials say it could also jeopardize the fundamental right of a secret ballot, and potentially intimidate voters in the process.

The legislation would prohibit challengers from recording "the personal identification" of a voter or intimidating them, but that would be hard to enforce, said Roebuck, the Republican clerk from Ottawa County.

A new option for early voting

What's new: Two bills in the Senate package could make it easier to vote.

[Senate Bill 274](#) would allow 16-year-olds to pre-register when applying for their driver's license, so they could automatically vote at 18.

[Senate Bill 300](#) would create a new early voting option by requiring clerks across the state to open for traditional, in-person voting on the second Saturday before an election.

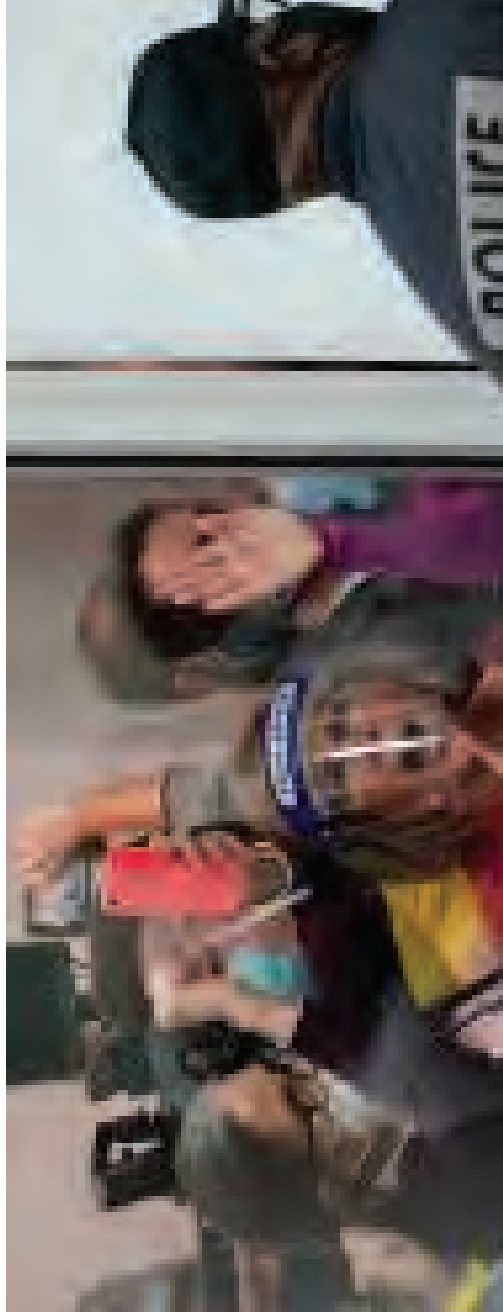
Under the proposal, local clerks would tabulate and record votes that day just as they do on Election Day. But it would be a felony crime to disclose any results from the early voting period until polls close at 8 p.m. Election Day.

Analysis: Michigan voters already can effectively vote early by casting an absentee ballot in person at their local clerk's office. And under a constitutional amendment approved by voters in 2018, those offices must be open for at least eight hours on the weekend before Election Day.

The Senate GOP proposal would build on that voter access, however, and any ballots cast on the second Saturday before election could be tabulated that day.

That's a good idea, said Rutledge, the Democratic Inkster clerk, who called the proposal "another way of giving people an opportunity to get out early and vote."

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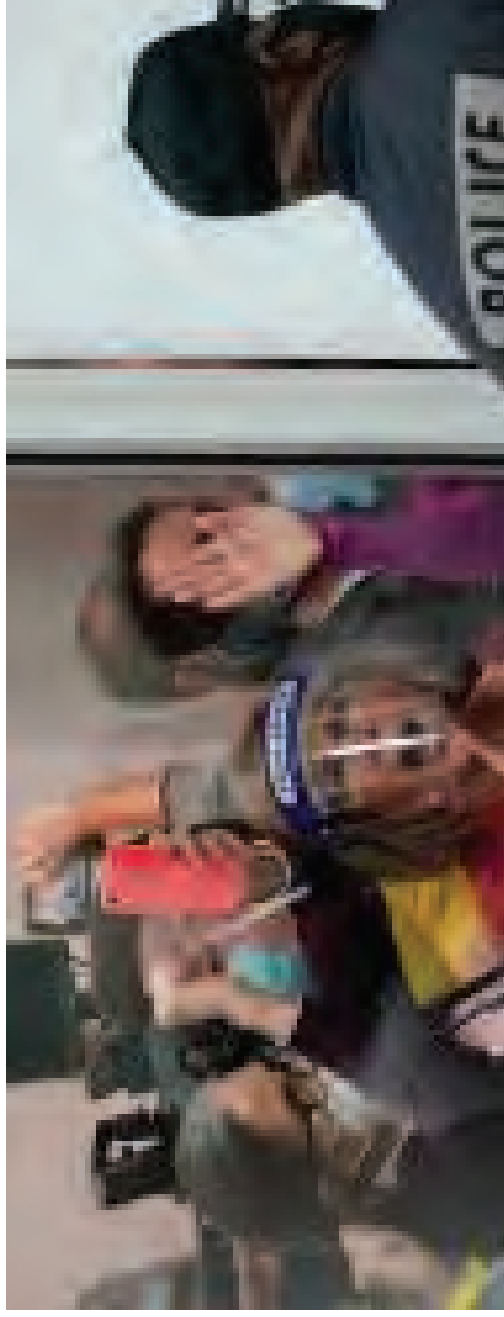
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EXHIBIT 5



A disproportionate burden: strict voter identification laws and minority turnout

John Kuk, Zoltan Hajnal & Nazita Lajevardi

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RESEARCH NOTE



A disproportionate burden: strict voter identification laws and minority turnout

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ABSTRACT

Critics of the recent proliferation of strict photo identification laws claim these laws impose a disproportionate burden on racial minorities. Yet, empirical studies of the impact of these laws on minority turnout have reached decidedly mixed results. State and federal courts have responded by offering mixed opinions about the legality of these laws. We offer a more rigorous test of these laws by focusing on more recent elections, by relying on official turnout data rather than surveys, and by employing a more sophisticated research design that assesses change over time using a difference-in-difference approach. Our analysis uses aggregate county turnout data from 2012 to 2016 and finds that the gap in turnout between more racially diverse and less racially diverse counties grew more in states enacting new strict photo ID laws than it did elsewhere. This analysis provides additional empirical evidence that strict voter ID laws appear to discriminate.

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Strict voter identification laws are proliferating around the country. Prior to 2006, no state required citizens to provide a valid photo identification in order to vote. Today, 11 states have strict ID laws in place and more states appear to be waiting in the wings. Critics have vilified these laws as anti-democratic and anti-minority (Weiser 2014). From this perspective, strict voter ID laws have little purpose other than to limit the legitimate participation of racial and ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups, and to bias outcomes in favor of the Republican legislators who pass them.

But on the other side of the debate supporters have been just as vocal. They argue that voter identification laws are necessary to reduce voter fraud and instill greater legitimacy in the democratic process (Kobach 2011). Advocates also argue that voter identification laws do not reduce the participation of citizens because they do not prevent legitimate voters – almost all of whom have identification – from entering the voting booth. The only thing that is clear is that the stakes for American democracy are high and growing higher by the year.

In many ways, the courts have served as the primary battle site over these laws. Almost every strict ID law has been challenged in the courts. In one of the most important cases,

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Crawford vs Marion County, the Supreme Court ruled that a 2005 strict voter identification law passed in Indiana was constitutional. But that has not stopped opponents from filing suit against different versions of the law. Currently, voter identification laws are being litigated in at least six states with laws being challenged in four states as unconstitutional (14th and 15th Amendments) and/or in violation of the Voting Rights Act (Alabama, North Carolina, North Dakota, and Wisconsin) and in two others as violating state law (Iowa and Missouri).¹

In past legal proceedings, the court's ruling has appeared to rest more than anything else on the balance between the burden that these laws pose on racial and ethnic minorities and the state's interest in the integrity of the electoral process. And, that balance often seems to rest on the weight of the empirical evidence about the burden these laws pose to minorities. When the empirical evidence to document a substantial burden has been found wanting, the courts – including the Supreme Court – have generally ruled that these laws are constitutional.² When in other cases, more convincing evidence of a real burden has been put forward, several courts have ruled against these laws.³ With the fate of these laws continues to be adjudicated by the courts, more rigorous empirical evidence is needed.

In all of this, it is important to note that no two voter ID laws are identical and different laws in different states may be targeting different groups. For example, North Dakota's strict ID law requires an ID with a residential street address which may disproportionately target and impact Native Americans many of who live on reservations without official street addresses. By contrast, Texas's initial ID law allowed residents to use a concealed carry gun license but not a state-issued student ID – a pattern that critics felt favored Whites and disproportionately impacted Blacks and Hispanics.

Existing evaluations of voter ID laws

Unfortunately, despite all of the attention given to these laws, the empirical evidence is not yet entirely convincing one way or another. Crucially, we know that racial and ethnic minorities are less likely than whites to have ready access to valid identification (Ansolabehere 2014; Stewart 2013; GAO 2014; Barreto et al. 2019; Hood and Buchanan 2019). But would these individuals actually vote in the absence of these laws? And would mobilization in opposition to these laws by parties, non-profit organizations, or others actually increase turnout among some voters (Citrin et al. 2014; Valentino and Neuner 2017)?

When studies go one critical step further and focus on voter turnout and seek to directly assess whether these laws reduce participation and skew the electorate in favor of one racial group over another, the results have been decidedly more mixed. Earlier studies tended to find few effects (Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz 2008; de Alth 2009; Mycoff, Wagner, and Wilson 2009; Hood and Bullock 2012). More recent studies tend to demonstrate a significant, if sometimes inconsistent, racially disproportionate impact (Dropp 2013; GAO 2014; Hajnal, Lajevardi, and Nielson 2017, 2018; Fraga 2018). Critics are, however, quick to note the data limitations of these studies (Grimmer et al. 2018).

Given the mixed findings to date and given the importance and necessity of persuasive empirical evidence for the courts to decide the future of voter identification laws in the states, it is clear that we need a stronger test that will provide greater insight into the impact of these laws on the minority population and in so doing offer more compelling results for the courts and policy makers.

A stronger test

In order to advance the empirical literature and to effectively contribute to the legal debate, any new study needs to address three critical flaws evident in much of the existing empirical studies. First, it must focus on recent elections and distinguish between strict photo ID laws and other less stringent ID laws. One reason for the difference in findings between earlier and later studies seems clear. Much of the research published before 2013 focused almost exclusively on the impact of *non-strict* voter identification laws. That is understandable since the strictest versions of the laws were not implemented until recently, but it is also problematic given that it is only strict ID laws that require identification in order to vote.

Second, a new study should rely on official turnout data rather than on potentially problematic survey data as much of the research has done. Much of the scholarship on strict voter ID laws has focused on self-reported turnout – a major problem since substantial and racially uneven shares of the public over-report turnout (Abramson and Claggett 1991; Ansolabehere and Hersh 2012).

The final and perhaps most important concern with the research to date is methodological. As Highton (2017) and others have noted, most studies use cross-sectional data when assessing the impact of ID laws but since states that pass these laws so clearly differ from states that do not, causal inference is limited. The solution according to Highton (2017) and Erikson and Minnite (2009) is to focus on over time changes through a difference-in-difference approach. Unfortunately, no study has yet incorporated each of these three elements into a more definitive test.

In this article, we seek to move forward on all three fronts and thus to contribute both to the empirical debate and to the legal discussion by providing concrete evidence about the consequences of voter identification laws for turnout among marginalized segments of the American public. Specifically, our analysis uses a difference-in-difference approach to compare turnout changes in states that recently implemented strict photo ID laws with turnout changes in states not implementing strict ID laws over the same time period. We focus on turnout changes across the two most recent presidential elections in 2012 and 2016. Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, and Wisconsin all implemented strict photo ID laws over this period. We define a strict voter identification law as any electoral law that requires voters to present identification before their ballot will be officially counted.⁴ Our test also employs official turnout data, namely official county-level aggregate vote totals for all 3142 counties in the United States.⁵

Our analysis uses two official data sources. First, to measure *aggregate* turnout in each county in each contest, we compile the official vote totals for each county in each election and Census data on the voting age population in each county.⁶ Second, we add Census data on the racial and ethnic breakdown of the voting age population by county. By combining these two data sources, we can look at how turnout changes from 2012 to 2016 in each county vary by the racial and ethnic composition of each country. If strict voter identification laws disproportionately impact racial and ethnic minorities, we would expect aggregate turnout in racially diverse counties to fall more (relative to aggregate turnout in largely White counties) in states that implement new strict ID laws, than it does in states that don't enact new ID laws.⁷

To try to address the concern that we are using aggregate turnout to try to make inferences about individual voter behavior (the ecological fallacy problem), we perform two key

tests in the online appendix (Section 11). One uses data from a state where turnout by race is officially recorded to show that aggregate country turnout is a reasonable proxy for the turnout of the majority racial group in each county. The other employs a similar difference-in-difference design using validated individual-level vote data from a national survey to show that strict identification laws have a similar pattern of racial effects at the individual level. However, we want to be very clear that neither test can definitively rule out all concerns related to the ecological inference problem. Ultimately, we can only say how aggregate turnout changes as counties become more or less racially diverse and cannot be certain how turnout by race differs within each county.

Testing the impact of ID laws by modeling changes in turnout between 2012 and 2016

The basic test is at its heart direct and straightforward. To determine if the implementation of strict photo ID laws has a racially disparate impact, we look to see if turnout in racially diverse counties declines relative to turnout in predominantly white counties more in states enacting strict voter IDs than it does in states not enacting strict ID laws over the same time period. In other words, we utilize a difference-in-difference design. We perform that basic test in several different ways to ensure the robustness of our findings.

We first undertake a state fixed effects regression analysis that includes all counties in all states.⁸ By including state fixed effects, we essentially control for all state-level characteristics that *don't change* over this time period. If a state was more Republican or more hostile to minority voting rights in ways that we did not measure, or in ways that are not measurable at all, that difference would be accounted for in the fixed effects model. But state fixed effects do not control for factors that are changing in each state. Thus, we also include controls for change in every factor that we think could impact turnout in each state. Specifically, we include the following measures of state electoral conditions: (a) the share of the state's population that identifies as Democratic, (b) the amount of campaign spending in the state in the federal election, (c) the margin of victory in the state in the presidential election, (d) partisan control of the state Senate, House, and Governor's office, (e) whether or not statewide contests were contested, (f) whether or not statewide contests are open seats, and (g) candidate vote shares in statewide contests. In terms of state electoral laws, we control for changes in (a) the registration deadline and whether or not the state has (b) early voting, (c) vote-by-mail, (d) no excuse absentee ballots, and (e) same day registration. Finally, we also control for the following county-level demographics: (a) educational makeup (percent of adults with a bachelor's degrees), (b) income (median income), (c) age distribution (median age), (d) gender (percent female), (e) economic conditions (unemployment rate), family structure (share of households with children), and religion (percent Protestant, percent Catholic, and percent Jewish) of each county. Sources for all variables are detailed in Section 1 of the online appendix. For brevity purposes, only the key interaction terms are included in the table. The full regressions are included in Section 2 of the online appendix.

The first model uses change in turnout between 2012 and 2016 as the dependent variable, while the second model employs county turnout in 2016 as the dependent variable and includes county turnout in 2012 as a lagged independent variable.

The key variable in Table 1 is the interaction between the racial demographics of a given county and the implementation of a new strict ID law in the state. As the negative and significant interactions in both models in Table 1 show turnout declines significantly more in racially diverse counties relative to less diverse counties in states that enact strict ID laws over this period than it does in other states. Substantively, the effect is sizeable. Using the estimate from model 2 which is the more conservative estimate of the two regressions, we find that turnout in counties where 75% of the population was non-White declined 2.6 percentage points (relative to turnout in all White counties) more in Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, and Wisconsin after those states instituted their strict photo ID laws, than it did in other states.⁹

Difference-in differences with mean balancing

One concern with the analysis to this point is that the states in the control group that have not implemented strict ID laws in our time frame may not represent ideal counterfactuals. If turnout trends in these states differ from turnout trends in the four new strict ID states, our results may be skewed. To address this concern, we construct a comparable control group through a mean-balancing method that balances on pre-treatment turnout and other key covariates in the years 2000–2012 before these strict ID laws were put in place (Hazlett and Xu 2018; see online appendix for details about the method).

Our results using the balancing method match what we found earlier. In Figure 1, we illustrate the impact of strict ID laws for counties with different racial demographics after balancing. The figure clearly shows that as the share of the county that is non-white increases, the negative impact of strict ID laws also increases. The model estimates that relative to turnout in all White counties, turnout in counties with a 75% non-White population declines 1.5 points more in states that just adopted strict ID laws than in states that didn't implement a strict ID law. Given that the margin of victory in Wisconsin in the 2016 Presidential election was only 0.77 percentage points, this is a meaningful effect.

In an alternative test, we balanced treated and control counties not only on the outcome variable – pre-treatment turnout – but also on key covariates like the racial makeup of each county. Fortunately, when we add percent non-white, percent Black, and percent Hispanic to our mean-balancing procedure, we arrive at nearly identical results (see online appendix).

Table 1. Testing the racial disparate of strict photo ID laws: 2012–2016.

	Change in county turnout (2012–2016)	2016 Turnout (w/lagged 2012 turnout)
Percent Minority * New Strict States	–.060 (.020)**	–.034 (.015)*
Percent Minority	–.037 (.013)**	–.056 (.008)**
New Strict States	–.044 (.006)**	–.026 (.005)**
R Squared	.66	.98
Number of Observations	2599	2599
County Demographic Controls	Y	Y
Changes in State Political Context and State Electoral Laws Controls	Y	Y

Note: Figures are the regression coefficient and the standard error in parentheses.

**Difference is significant at the .01 level.

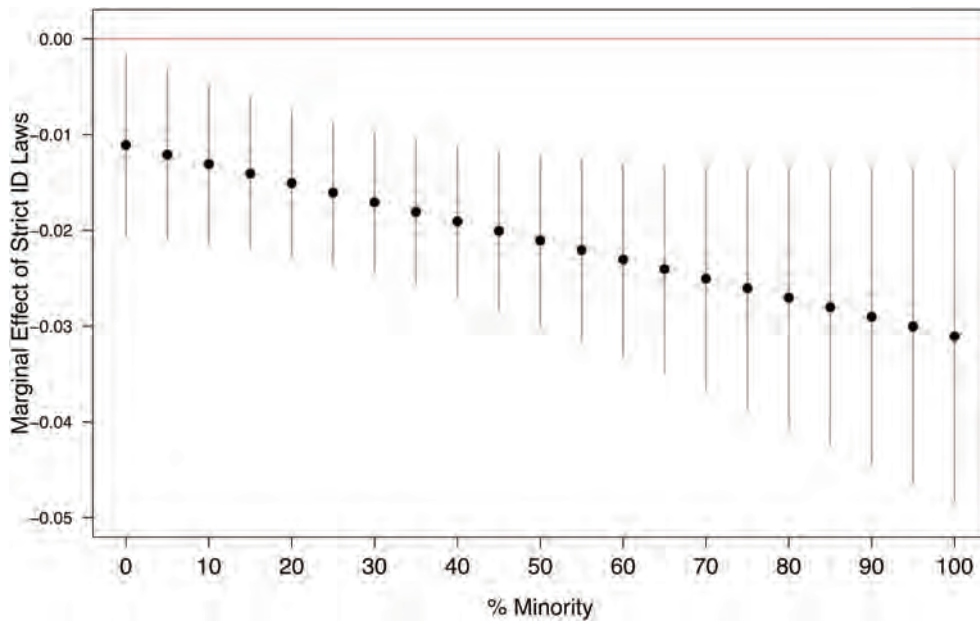


Figure 1. The marginal effect of strict photo ID laws conditional on percent minority.

Robustness checks

As a check on the robustness of these results in the online appendix, we engaged in a series of different tests which are included in the online appendix. First, since no two voter ID laws are the same and different laws in different states may be targeting different groups we looked at each strict ID state separately (see Section 6). We find closer to a consistent effect. The four states that initiated strict ID laws in our period – Alabama, Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Virginia – all experienced exceptionally high declines in turnout in racial diverse counties (relative to largely white counties) after those states instituted strict photo ID laws.

It is also possible that the same law affects different racial and ethnic groups differently. Thus, in Section 7 of the online appendix, we looked at the effects of these laws on Blacks and Hispanic separately. Our various tests were, however, inconclusive with some pointing to Blacks being disproportionately targeted by these laws, while others suggested that Hispanics were more impacted. In addition, we document other robustness checks that (a) exclude states with preexisting strict ID laws from the comparison set (Section 4), (b) conducted a placebo test using the years prior to the implementation of strict ID laws in our four states (Section 5), (c) employed a hierarchical linear model (Section 8), (d) only compared strict ID states to other Republican-led states (Section 9), and (e) used data on individual level turnout from North Carolina and the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey to help address concerns of the ecological fallacy (Section 10). These tests help to confirm the racially disparate impact of these laws.

Implications

Voter ID laws are becoming more common and more strict. The stakes for American democracy are high and growing higher by the year. In this article, we have attempted

to provide a rigorous empirical assessment of these laws. By focusing on data from recent elections after strict photo ID laws have been widely implemented, by using official turnout data to eliminate concerns over inflated and biased turnout patterns from self-reported survey data, and by employing a research design that incorporates longitudinal data and difference-in-difference tests, our analysis overcomes many of the core problems faced by previous studies.

The findings presented here strongly suggest that these laws do, in fact, represent a major burden that disproportionately affects minorities and significantly alters the makeup of the voting population. Where these laws are enacted, turnout in racially diverse counties declines, it declines more than in less diverse areas, and it declines more sharply than it does in other states. As a result of these laws, the voices of racial minorities become more muted and the relative influence of white America grows. An already significant racial skew in American democracy becomes all the more pronounced. If courts are indeed trying to gauge the burden these laws impose on minorities and others, then this new data should help the courts with their deliberations.

Notes

1. For a review of active voter identification cases see: <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/state-voting-rights-litigation-july-2019>.
2. For example, Crawford vs Marion County Election Board (2008).
3. For example, United States Courts of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit No. 16-1468 (2016).
4. Coding for strict ID laws is based on the National Conference of State Legislators (2019) except for Alabama which is coded as a strict ID state because the only alternative to presenting an ID in that state is to have two election officials sign a sworn statement saying that they know the voter.
5. Data for the count-level vote totals are from the Atlas of US Elections and the Congressional Quarterly Voting and Election website.
6. To address migration into or out of the county, we also control for change in the county voting age population.
7. Only eight states (AL, GA, FL, LA, NC, PN, SC, and TN) ask for race/ethnicity when citizens register to vote.
8. Regressions include standard errors clustered at the state level and are weighted by county population size.
9. For this comparison, we drop states that already have strict ID laws. If we include states that implemented strict photo ID laws before 2012, the pattern is similar.

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Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s). Zoltan Hajnal worked as an expert witness for the NAACP in Greater Birmingham Ministries, et al. vs John. H. Merrill (a strict voter identification case in Alabama).

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EXHIBIT 6



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American Politics Research

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Abstract

Over 40 states have considered voter identification laws in recent years, with several adopting laws requiring voters to show a valid ID before they cast a ballot. We argue that such laws have a disenfranchising affect on racial and ethnic minorities, who are less likely than Whites to possess a valid ID. Leveraging a unique national dataset, we offer a comprehensive portrait of who does and does not have access to a valid piece of voter identification. We find clear evidence that people of color are less likely to have an ID. Moreover, these disparities persist after controlling for a host of relevant covariates.

Keywords

voter ID laws, racial and ethnic politics

Introduction

Early challenges to voter identification laws equated them with poll taxes, given it costs money to obtain identification through the department of motor

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vehicles (Shanton, 2010). Presented with disproportionately negative implications for Blacks and Latinos, federal judges stayed laws in Georgia, Texas, and South Carolina via Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA). However, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the risk of fraud outweighed burdens to voters. The decision in *Crawford v. Marion County* (2008), together with the invalidation of Section 5 preclearance under *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013), rendered Section 2 of the VRA the principal means to federally challenge ID laws. State constitutional challenges have been inconsistent, leading to a patchwork outcome. Activists have mounted federal challenges in Texas, North Carolina, Kansas, and Wisconsin, among other states, a controversy that heated up in the approach to and aftermath of the 2016 election.

Although challenges to the validity of voter ID laws often draw on data collected and evaluated by expert witnesses, case law has developed largely in the absence of comprehensive research on differential access to ID among population subgroups. Instead, analyses for these cases are limited to the data in that state, and to bivariate relationships of haves and have nots, raising questions about the role of other variables, like education, income, and age, in impacting access to an ID. Finally, analyses connecting ID laws to turnout suffer from data limitations, and findings are contested. Importantly, we argue that research overly focused on turnout misses the point of de facto disenfranchisement, on which we elaborate below. We draw on a unique, comprehensive dataset to describe the nature and scope of differential access to ID among racial subgroups. We situate our analysis within the legal and social science framework at play around voter ID laws to centralize questions of access to the franchise. We do this to reinforce the argument that racial differences in access to ID required to vote result from historical institutional racial exclusion. From this vantage point, questions of impact on aggregate turnout are secondary. Turnout rates are never universal, and rise and fall every cycle with competitiveness and quality of candidates. Put simply, the contest over voter ID laws is one of power, access to democracy, and the value of civic voice. As such, who has access to documents which allow you to vote is of primary importance.

Relevant Literature

Concerns over voter fraud propelled the popularity of voter identification laws after the 2000 election and the 2002 passage of the Help America Vote Act (HAVA). Despite the fact that there are few documented instances of the kind of in-person fraud that voter ID laws would prevent, they have withstood constitutional scrutiny when confronted with the demand for electoral integrity (Minnite, 2007; Stoughton, 2013). Despite claims to electoral integrity,

scholars demonstrate that partisan motivations enhance the popularity of these laws (Bentele & O'Brien, 2013; Biggers & Hanmer, 2017; Hicks, McKee, Sellers, & Smith, 2015). Investigating the conditions favorable to their adoption, Hicks et al. (2015) find that competitive legislatures where Republicans have a slight edge are most likely to pass ID requirements. Republicans strategically leverage such laws to support turnout among their base while undercutting the turnout of Democratic voters (Grossmann & Hopkins, 2015).

Eroding turnout among Democrats is sometimes crafted directly into ID laws. In Texas, hunting and gun permits, which Whites are statistically more likely to possess, are legitimate forms of ID but social service cards, more often held by Blacks and Latinos, are not (Bachu & O'Connell, 1995; Shanton, 2010). The passage of Alabama's ID law was accompanied by the closure of nearly half of the state's Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) locations, with most closures in disproportionately poor and Black counties (Watson, 2015). Even when states offer remedial assistance, like Wisconsin's provision of a free ID, underlying documentation required for identification is an onerous burden. One study found nearly 15% of eligible voters, and 20% of Latinos, in Milwaukee County without the documents to get a free ID (Barreto & Sanchez, 2012a).

Despite the underlying motivation to curtail democratic turnout, the impact of ID laws on voting is contested. A handful of studies find voter ID laws have little impact (Erikson & Minnite, 2009; Muhlhausen & Sikich, 2007; Mycoff, Wagner, & Wilson, 2009). Two studies find that the strictest laws diminish turnout among Blacks and Latinos (Hajnal, Lajevardi, & Nielson, 2017; Vercellotti & Anderson, 2006). Still other research from Georgia found that Black turnout in the state *increased* in 2008 following a strict ID law. However, this line of inquiry is fettered by data limitations (Grimmer, Hersh, Meredith, Mummolo, & Nall, 2018).

Mixed findings around turnout obscure the importance of the legal framework within which ID laws operate. Republican lawmakers design ID laws with marginalized voters in mind. Why and how marginalized citizens overcome barriers intended to keep them from voting is a point of inquiry important to the study of power in American politics. In Georgia in 2008, for example, Barack Obama's historic campaign and activists' mobilization efforts energized citizens who had a valid piece of ID. Higher turnout among co-ethnic community members with valid ID does not equate to the negligible impact of voter ID laws. Singular focus on turnout without centralizing the real impact of such burdens on access to the franchise is one-dimensional, operating within the subtext of racial power to reproduce the inequalities that demand the attention of political scientists in the first place (Murakawa & Beckett, 2010).

We therefore turn attention to assessing the extent to which ID laws amount to a racially disparate barrier to the franchise, should one wish to cast a ballot. Expert reports in several cases challenging ID laws demonstrate by a variety of methods that Blacks and Latinos are less likely than Whites to possess an appropriate ID (Barreto & Sanchez, 2012a, 2012b, 2014; Marker, 2014). In Texas, for example, using database matching Stephen Ansolabehere demonstrated a two-to-five percentage point difference between Hispanic and White voters possessing a valid ID, which grew to four-to-eight percentage points for Blacks (“Plaintiffs and plaintiff-intervenors’ proposed,” 2014). Barreto, Nuno, and Sanchez (2009) demonstrate disparate rates of access to an ID in Indiana, and work by Stewart (2013) suggests that this trend holds more generally.¹ Yet, very little has been published in academic venues corroborating disparate rates of ID possession, nor have these differences been subjected to more rigorous analysis.

Citizens across the nation face barriers to voting in the form of ID laws. To address the shortcomings of existing research on this topic, we offer evidence in three parts. First, we show that ID laws present a greater barrier to voting for minorities than for Whites, and that these disparities are national in scope. Second, we demonstrate that racial differences persist after accounting for relevant covariates, including socioeconomic status. Finally, we assess the underlying factors that uniquely impact access to an ID among racial subgroups. Faced with inconclusive evaluations of voter ID on turnout, a comprehensive portrait of “who does or does not have the kinds of identity documents mandated in recent voter identification legislation” should be “enough to raise concerns about a disparate impact of voter ID laws” (Erikson & Minnite, 2009, p. 98).

Data and Method

We leverage six datasets, collected between 2008 and 2014. Surveys were conducted in Wisconsin, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Texas, were designed to measure access to an ID given the laws in each state, and to coincide with the time period when the laws were in place but legally contested. The survey in Indiana was fielded in October, 2007; in Wisconsin from December, 2011, to January, 2012; in Pennsylvania in June of 2012; and in Texas from March to April, 2014. We pair these state datasets with two national surveys: the 2008 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS), fielded from November, 2008, to January, 2009, and the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES), fielded from September, 2012, to January, 2013. Across surveys, respondents were asked whether they had access to an ID, with multiple follow-up questions to ensure their ID would meet state guidelines. Sampling techniques

employed in Wisconsin, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Texas, and in the CMPS ensure a robust sample of non-White and low socioeconomic status eligible voters, who are most likely to lack an ID and are hard to reach by traditional sampling methods. Combined, these amount to 18,186 completed interviews, including 4,528 Latinos, 4,289 Blacks, 1,064 Asians, 7,763 White non-Hispanics, and 542 of “other race.”

Key issues faced when combining multiple datasets include differences in sample design, population, question wording, and survey administration (Tourangeau, 2003). Modes of data collection included telephone, face-to-face (ANES), and web administration (ANES). The target population varied from registered voters (in the 2008 CMPS) to all citizen eligible adults (in Wisconsin, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Texas, and the ANES). Whether one has a valid ID is coded according to state law in each of the state datasets. In the two national datasets, *valid ID* is assessed by asking about a non-expired, state issued ID. Question wording is thus an issue insofar as we have combined precise measures in the state datasets with less precise measures in the national datasets. We do this to enhance the generalizability of the findings, and to gain analytical leverage among racial subgroups.² Each individual dataset is weighted to bring its demographic profile in line with Census estimates for the eligible or registered population (depending on the sample), and then an overall weight is constructed such that the final data match the national citizen, adult population, as per Osborne (2011). We include fixed effects for dataset in analyses of the pooled data. Finally, pooling across multiple sources is not without precedent, and the statistical leverage gained from increasing the sample size legitimizes the methodological decision to do so (Kohnen & Reiter, 2009).³

Findings

White respondents were statistically more likely to possess a valid form of ID than other racial groups in a model only accounting for race across every dataset included in the analysis. Table 1 displays the percent of each racial subgroup possessing a valid ID, among both the individual and pooled datasets. In both nationally representative datasets, Whites were significantly more likely to possess a valid ID than were all other racial groups. In all datasets but Texas, Blacks were statistically less likely to possess an ID than were Whites. The same was true for Latinos in all datasets but Pennsylvania. In the combined dataset, about 81% of Blacks possessed a valid ID, compared with 91% of Whites, 82% of Latinos, 85% of Asians, and 86% of those who identify some other way. In the pooled dataset, Asians and those who identify some other way are statistically less likely to possess a valid ID than are Whites, although these relationships are not consistent.⁴

Table 1. Percent Possessing a Valid Piece of Voter ID, by Race and Dataset.

	Combined	ANES	CMPS	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Texas	Wisconsin
White	90.5	93.1	88.1	85.8	86.7	90.8	92.7
Black	81.2***	82.7***	78.0***	73.6***	84.4**	86.9	82.7***
Latino	82.0***	81.5***	80.8***	72.7	78.4*	83.2***	83.2***
Asian	84.9***	86.2***	80.9**	91.7	100.0	100.0	87.5
Other race	85.5***	84.0***	—	79.6	69.6**	92.9	89.4

Note. ANES = American National Election Study; CMPS = Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey.

* $p < .1$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$; Significance levels reflect logistic regression analysis, and racial categories are statistically different from White; estimates are weighted.

The disparate impact of voter ID laws on Blacks, Latinos, and those of some other race persists after controlling for a variety of relevant covariates. Figure 1 displays the logistic regression coefficients and confidence intervals resulting from an abbreviated and fully specified multivariate analysis of access to a valid ID among eligible voters in the pooled sample.⁵ After including appropriate controls, the relationship between possession of a valid ID and identifying as Asian continues to be negative but is no longer statistically significant. Figure 1 is most useful for comparing the relative effect size for each of the variables in the model, and reveals that the magnitude of the negative impact of race on the likelihood of having a valid ID is substantial, outstripping other relevant variables like age, gender, and having been born outside the United States. Figure 2 displays the predicted probability of possessing an ID among each racial subgroup. Whites have a probability of having a valid ID of about 90% both in the abbreviated and multivariate models. In contrast, Blacks in the abbreviated model have a predicted probability of ID possession of .81, which improves to .85 in the multivariate model. Likewise, Latinos in the abbreviated model have a predicted probability of having an appropriate ID of about .82, which improves to .85. Among Asian respondents, the likelihood of possessing a valid ID improves from .85 to .87, and in the fully specified model is no longer statistically distinguishable from Whites. Among those who identify with some other racial group, controlling for relevant covariates does not diminish the spastically negative relationship between race and ID possession.

In addition to age, gender, and having been born outside the United States, education, income, and homeownership also impact ID possession (Figure 1). Age may negatively impact the likelihood of having an ID by way of expiration, where the elderly are less likely to drive and thus less likely to have an updated license. Younger individuals may rely on a student ID issued

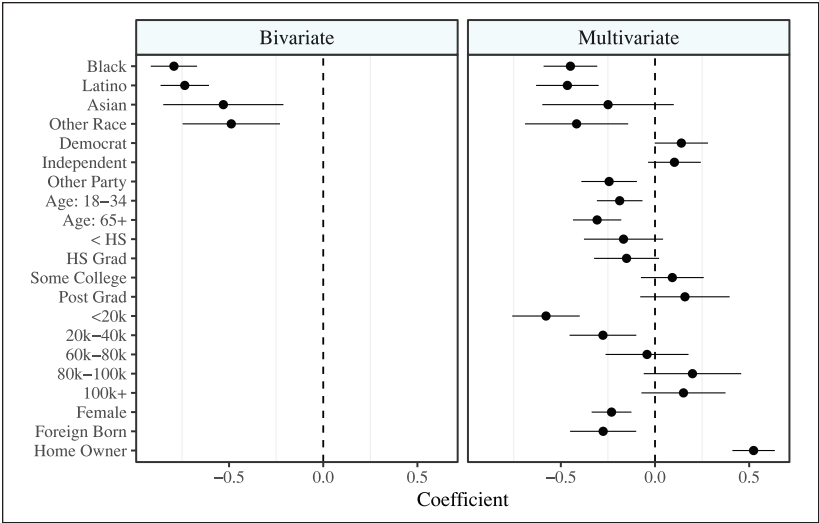


Figure 1. The marginal effects of relevant variables on likelihood of possessing a valid piece of voter ID, in an abbreviated and fully specified model.
Note. HS = high school.

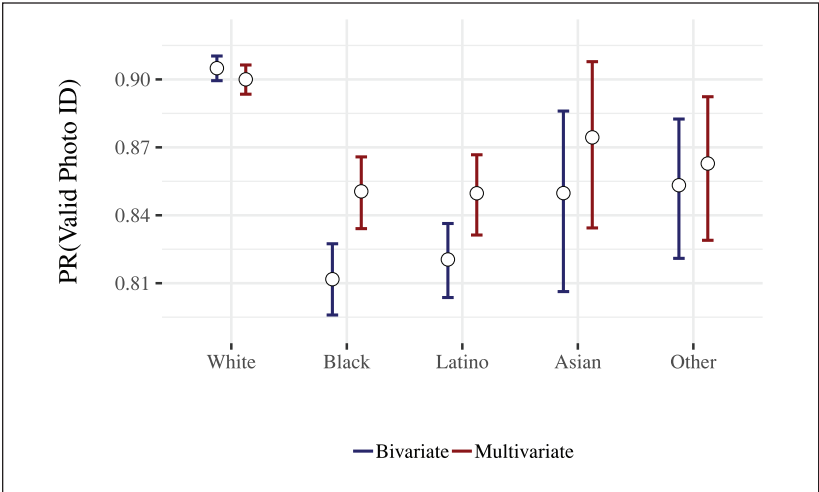


Figure 2. The predicted likelihood of possessing a valid piece of voter identification by race and model.
Note. Point estimates reflect the pooled sample of eligible voters.

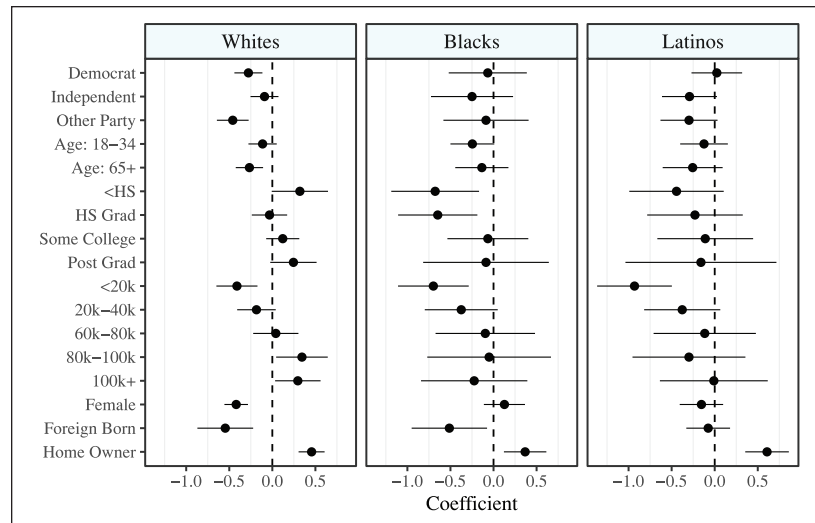


Figure 3. The marginal effects of relevant variables on likelihood of possessing a valid piece of voter identification, among racial subgroups.

Note. HS = high school.

by a university, which often do not conform to ID regulations in a given state. Women may be less likely to have an ID as result of changing one's name after marriage. Education, income, and homeownership are associated with an increased likelihood of ID possession insofar as individuals with greater civic knowledge and material resources are likely to have the skills needed to navigate public agencies, and the resources to secure appropriate ID.

The above analysis highlights that, while courts rely on bivariate evidence of racially disparate impact, when subjected to more rigorous analysis the independent, negative effects of race persist. This raises questions around underlying factors that might account for the enduring race gap. We explore this further by examining differences in the various factors that are associated with ID possession among racial subsamples, displayed in Figure 3. Some factors consistently influence ID possession across all groups, like homeownership and income. However, there are differences. Among Blacks, education is positively and statistically associated with the likelihood of having an ID. Education is also positively associated with ID possession among Latinos, although it is not statistically significant. Among Whites, other factors are important predictors of lacking an ID, including being over the age of 65 years, a Democrat, and female.

While these factors likely compound barriers to accessing an ID among Blacks and Latinos, socioeconomic factors like education and income are of primary importance for these groups. An examination of the predicted probabilities of having a valid ID given less than a high school education compared with having a postgraduate degree reveals that Whites with lesser education are no more likely to have a valid ID than are their educated counterparts (.94 among those without a high school degree compared with .937 among those with a postgraduate degree). In contrast, high levels of education increase the likelihood of having an ID by about eight percentage points among Blacks (.79 compared with .87) and three percentage points among Latinos (.81 compared with .84).

Conclusion

This analysis was undertaken to offer a comprehensive evaluation of the scope of the racially disparate impact of voter ID laws. Existing research demonstrates that voter ID laws are partisan tools, designed with the marginalized fringe of the Democratic party in mind, to shape the electorate primarily in favor of state Republican legislatures facing competitive elections. Voting rights activists levy challenges to such laws, focusing on disparate access to appropriate ID among people of color. Legal precedent has developed largely in the absence of evidence that the disparate impact of ID laws extends beyond a few key states, endures beyond class, and diminishes turnout. The best evidence available suggests that voter ID laws have a negative, racially disparate impact on turnout across the states (Hajnal, Kuk, & Lajevardi, 2018; Hajnal *et al.*, 2017). Our analysis joins this research to demonstrate that racial disparities in access to identification appropriate for voting persist even after accounting for important covariates like education and income, underscoring the privileges accrued to Whites through a history of institutional racial exclusion.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Notes

1. Stewart (2013) draws on a survey of 10,000 respondents to examine who has ID and who is asked to show it. While his measures of ID possession are very general, he finds that Latinos are asked to show an ID in states that lack ID laws, raising questions about implementation beyond the discriminatory nature of the laws themselves.
2. We have included findings by dataset, and among a pooled subset that excludes the national datasets to demonstrate that the substantive findings hold among a more conservative sample in the online appendix.
3. Further details for each survey are included in the online appendix.
4. Certain scholars and justices have opined that the implications of voter ID laws for voting are likely minimal as those most impacted by the laws are unlikely to vote. We therefore examined the relationship between race and possessing a valid ID among registered voters and those who indicated they had voted in the election prior to the survey. Racial disparities persist even among prior voters, among whom 91% of Whites possessed an ID, compared with 82%, 85%, and 87% of their Black, Latino, and Asian counterparts. An analysis among voting subgroups is located in the online appendix.
5. Figure 1 excludes fixed effects for dataset as well as the *missing* categories for income and education for brevity and elegance of presentation, although the coefficients reflect fully specified models. The corresponding tables are located in the online appendix, as is a multivariate analysis of each independent dataset.

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EXHIBIT 7



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REPORT | NOVEMBER 23, 2015

BEYOND DISTRUST: HOW AMERICANS VIEW THEIR GOVERNMENT



6. Perceptions of elected officials and the role of money in politics

A major factor in the public's negative attitudes about the federal government is its deep skepticism of elected officials. Unlike opinions about government performance and power, Republicans and Democrats generally concur in their criticisms of elected officials.

Asked to name the biggest problem with government today, [many cite Congress, politics, or a sense of corruption or undue outside influence](#). At the same time, large majorities of the public view elected officials as out of touch, self-interested, dishonest and selfish. And a 55% majority now say that [ordinary Americans would do a better job at solving the nation's problems than their elected representatives](#).

The 2016 campaign is on pace to break records for campaign spending. A large majority of Americans (76%) – including identical shares of Republicans and Democrats – say money has a greater role on politics than in the past. Moreover, large majorities of both Democrats (84%) and Republicans (72%) favor limiting the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend on campaigns and issues.

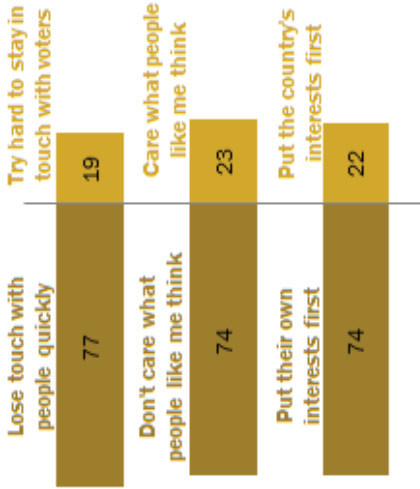
Few say elected officials put the country's interests before their own

Just 19% say elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home; 77% say elected officials lose touch with the people quickly.

A similar 74% say most elected officials “don’t care what people like me think”; just 23% say elected officials care what they think.

Elected officials widely viewed as out-of-touch, self-interested

% who say most elected officials ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42j, Q106n, Q107w. Don't know responses not shown.

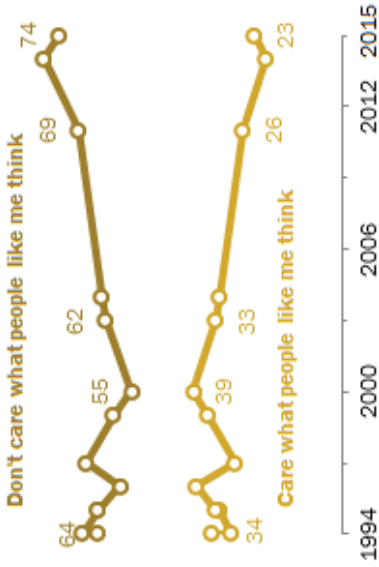
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The public also casts doubt on the commitment of elected officials to put the country's interests ahead of their own. Roughly three-quarters (74%) say elected officials put their own interests ahead of the country's, while just 22% say elected officials put the interests of the country first.

These views are widely held across the political spectrum, though conservative Republicans and Republican leaners are particularly likely to say elected officials are self-interested: 82% say this, compared with 71% of moderate and liberal Republicans, and similar proportions of conservative and moderate (69%) and liberal (73%) Democrats.

Growing share say elected officials don't care about people like them

% who say most elected officials ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q106n.
Don't know responses not shown.

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Negative views of politicians on these measures are nothing new, though the sense that politicians don't care what people think is more widely held in recent years: Today, 74% say this, up from 69% in 2011, 62% in 2003, and a narrower 55% majority in 2000.

Majorities across party lines say politicians don't care much about what they think, though as has been the case since 2011, more Republicans than Democrats currently say this (78% vs. 69%). In 2004, when both the presidency and Congress were held by the GOP, Democrats (71%) were more likely than Republicans (54%) to say elected officials in Washington didn't care much about them. Throughout much of the late 1990s, there were no significant partisan differences in these views.

Top problems of elected officials

What is the biggest problem with elected officials in Washington?

% who say ... (open-ended question)

	Total		Rep/Lean Rep		Dem/Lean Dem		R-D diff
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Influenced by special interest money	16	17	16			+1	
Liars, dishonest	11	13	11			+2	
Out of touch with Americans	10	12	7			+5	
Care only about career	10	13	6			+7	
Not willing to compromise	9	7	14			-7	
Democrats violating the Constitution	4	9	2			+7	
Members are not qualified	3	4	2			+2	
Terms are too long	3	4	1			+3	
Don't do their jobs	3	3	2			+1	
Not careful with government money	2	2	3			-1	
Republican/Conservative agenda	2	2	3			-1	
No major problems	3	1	2			-1	
Other	18	17	20			-3	
Don't know	16	10	17			-7	

Survey conducted Oct. 16-20, 2015. Open-end question. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses. See topline for additional details.

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When asked to name in their own words the biggest problem they see with elected officials in Washington, many Americans volunteer issues with their integrity and honesty, or mention concerns about how they represent their constituents.

The influence of special interest money on elected officials tops the list of named problems; 16% say this. Another 11% see elected officials as dishonest or as liars. These concerns are named by similar proportions of Republicans and Democrats.

One-in-ten respondents (10%) say elected officials are out of touch with Americans, and another 10% say they only care about their political careers. Republicans and Republican-leaning independents are slightly more likely than Democrats to name these as problems.

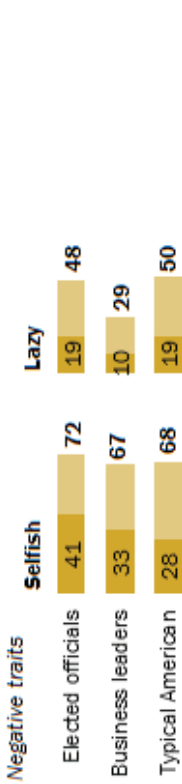
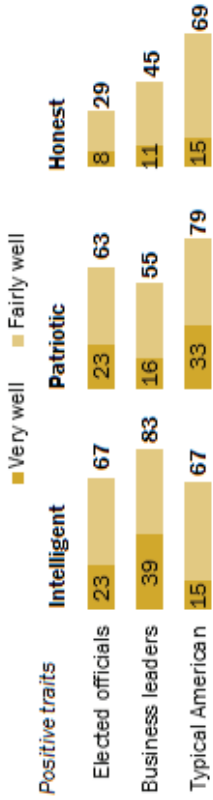
In contrast, Democrats are twice as likely as Republicans to volunteer that the biggest problem with elected officials is that they are not willing to compromise (14% vs. 7%).

Elected officials seen as ‘intelligent,’ not ‘honest’

To the general public, elected officials in Washington are not much different from the typical American when it comes to their intelligence or their work ethic, but they are viewed as considerably less honest, somewhat less patriotic and somewhat more selfish.

Elected officials viewed as less honest, more selfish than typical Americans or business leaders

% who say each term describes elected officials/business leaders/typical American very or fairly well ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q90-92.

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Two-thirds (67%) say that “intelligent” describes elected officials at least fairly well, the same share that says this about the typical American. Business leaders, by comparison, are

seen as more intelligent (83% say this describes them at least fairly well).

About half of Americans say elected officials (48%) and average Americans (50%) are lazy; just 29% say this about business leaders.

But assessments of elected officials' honesty are far more negative. Just 29% say that "honest" describes elected officials at least fairly well, while 69% say "honest" does not describe elected officials well. Business leaders are viewed more positively: 45% say they are honest. And nearly seven-in-ten (69%) consider the typical American honest.

About six-in-ten (63%) view elected officials as patriotic, a larger share than says this about business leaders (55%). Still, far more (79%) view ordinary Americans as patriotic than say this about elected officials.

And the public overwhelmingly thinks of elected officials as selfish: 72% say this describes them at least fairly well, including 41% who say this trait describes them "very well." Though similar shares say the term "selfish" applies at least fairly well to both business leaders (67%) and the typical American (68%), fewer say it describes those groups very well.

Majorities of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, and Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents, see elected officials as intelligent, patriotic and selfish, though there are modest differences in the ratings of elected officials across party lines.

Only about a third of Democrats (34%) and even fewer Republicans (25%) say "honest" describes elected officials. Similarly modest gaps are seen on other traits, with Democrats consistently viewing elected officials more positively (and less negatively) than Republicans.

Modest partisan differences in views of elected officials

% who say each term describes elected officials/business leaders/typical American very or fairly well ...

	Elected officials			Business leaders			Typical American		
	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem	%	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem	%	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem	%
Positive traits									
Intelligent	65	70		87	82		70	66	
Patriotic	60	68		66	48		77	82	
Honest	25	34		55	39		70	72	
Negative traits									
Selfish	76	70		63	72		69	69	
Lazy	51	44		26	32		53	46	

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q90-92.

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There are few differences between Democrats and Republicans on views of the typical American. Majorities in both parties rate the typical American as intelligent, honest and patriotic, albeit selfish.

Republicans express more positive views of business leaders than do Democrats. More Republicans than Democrats say “patriotic” describes business leaders very or fairly well (66% vs. 48%). And while Democrats rate elected officials and business leaders similarly on honesty (respectively, 34% and 39% say each is honest), Republicans are twice as likely to call business leaders honest than to say this about elected officials (55% vs. 25%).

Views of elected officials and views of government

Strong link between trust in government and views of elected officials

Views of government among those with positive, mixed or negative views of elected officials ...

Views of elected officials on 3-point scale				
	Positive (12%)	Mixed (31%)	Negative (57%)	Pos-Neg diff
Trust government	%	%	%	
Always/most of time	53	26	7	+46
Some of time	44	67	74	-30
Never (vol.)	*	6	19	-19
Don't know	2	1	1	
	100	100	100	

Feelings about govt				
Basically content	42	22	9	+33
Frustrated	49	59	60	-11
Angry	4	15	29	-25
Don't know	5	4	2	
	100	100	100	

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Five-item scale of views of elected officials includes measures of their concern for ordinary people, whether they keep in touch with the public, place the public interest above their own, and whether they are viewed as intelligent and honest. Q42j, Q106n, Q107w, Q90a, Q90c.

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Just 12% of Americans have attitudes across a variety of measures that suggest they view elected officials positively (tending to rate elected officials as honest, intelligent, in touch with and concerned about average Americans, and putting the country's interest above their own self-interest), while 57% largely view elected officials negatively (tending to take the opposing view on these measures); about three-in-ten (31%) hold about an equal mix of positive and negative views of politicians.

These views of elected officials are strongly correlated with overall attitudes about government. Among those with positive views of politicians, 53% say they trust

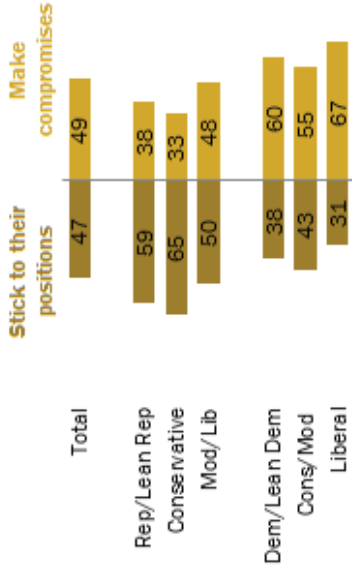
government all or most of the time; among those with negative views, just 7% do. And while 42% of those with positive views say they are “basically content” with the federal government and just 4% express anger, just 9% of those with negative views of elected officials say they are content and fully 29% express anger.

Compromising with the other party

The public is also divided over the extent to which elected officials should make compromises with people with whom they disagree. While 49% of the public say they like elected officials who compromise, 47% say they prefer those who stick to their positions.

Republicans, Democrats continue to differ over political compromise

% who say they like elected officials who ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107s.
Don't know responses not shown.

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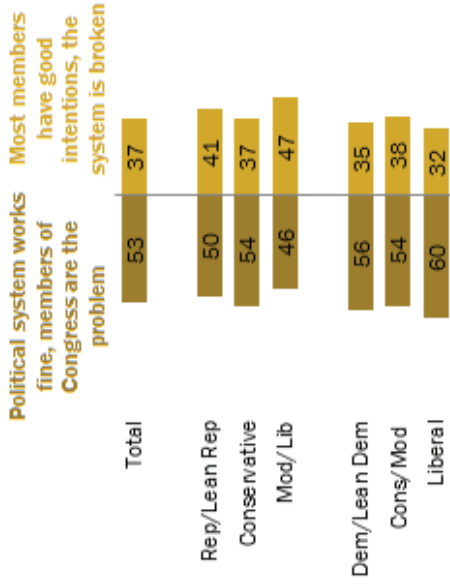
Among partisans and leaning independents, though, there is a clearer preference. Nearly six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (59%) like elected officials who stick to their positions. The preference is especially strong among conservative Republicans, 65% of whom say this.

In contrast, 60% of Democrats and Democratic leaners prefer elected officials who make compromises over those who stick to their positions. Two-thirds of liberal Democrats (67%) agree. This ideological divide over [compromise in principle is little different today from in recent years](#).

More people blame lawmakers than the political system

Most say political system works fine, members of Congress are the problem

Which comes closer to your view of Congress? (%)



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q873.
Don't know responses not shown.

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As was the case five years ago, more Americans blame problems with Congress on the members themselves, not a broken political system. Overall, 53% say the political system works just fine, and that elected officials are the root of the problems in Congress; 37% say most members of Congress have good intentions, and it's the political system that is broken (37%).

There are only modest partisan or demographic differences on this question, though moderate and liberal Republicans and leaners are somewhat more likely than other partisan and ideological groups to say problems are systemic (47% say this, compared with no more than 38% of those in other ideological groups).

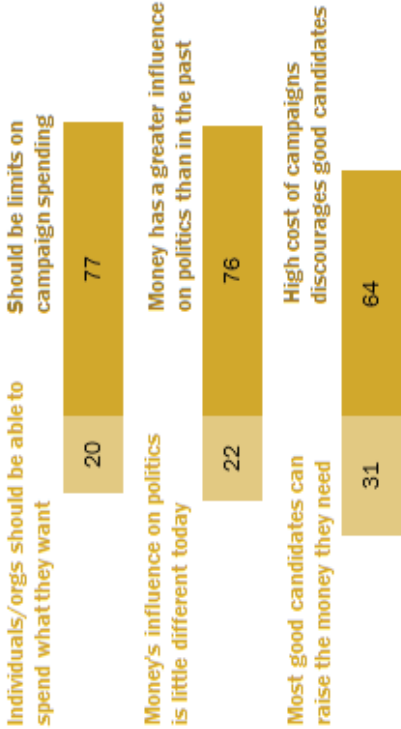
Views of the role of money in politics

The vast sums of money flowing into the 2016 presidential election have once again brought attention to the issue of campaign finance.

This issue resonates broadly with the public: 77% of Americans say there should be limits on the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend on political campaigns and issues. Just 20% say that individuals and organizations should be able to spend freely on campaigns.

Broad support for limits on campaign spending

% who say ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q112F1, Q113F1, Q62.
Don't know responses not shown.

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The perception that the influence of money on politics is greater today than in the past is also widely shared. Roughly three-quarters of the public (76%) believe this is the case, while about a quarter (22%) says that money's influence on politics and elected officials is little different today than in the past.

And as the presidential campaign continues, nearly two-thirds of Americans (64%) say that the high cost of running a presidential campaign discourages many good candidates from running. Only about three-in-ten (31%) are confident that good candidates can raise whatever money they need.

Broad concerns about money in politics – and the specific worry that costly campaigns discourage worthy candidates – are not new. In a January 1988 face-to-face survey, 64% said the high cost of campaigns acts as a barrier to many good candidates.

Most Americans, including majorities in both parties, believe that new laws would be effective in reducing the role of money in politics. Roughly six-in-ten overall (62%) say that new laws would be effective in limiting the role of money in politics; 35% say new laws would not be effective in achieving this goal.

Bipartisan support for limiting campaign spending

Opinions on campaign finance and its effects on the political system are widely shared; majorities across demographic and partisan groups say there should be limits on campaign spending, that money's impact on politics has increased and that the high cost of campaigns is driving away good candidates.

Concern about money’s influence on politics crosses partisan lines

Opinions on role of money in politics ...

	Should be limits on campaign spending		Money has a greater influence on politics today than before		High cost of campaigns discourages good candidates	
	%		%		%	
Total	77		76		64	
Republican/Lean Rep	72		76		62	
Conservative	68		77		61	
Mod/Lib	80		75		62	
Democrat/Lean Dem	84		76		68	
Cons/Mod	81		73		64	
Liberal	87		82		75	

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q112F1, Q113F1, Q62.

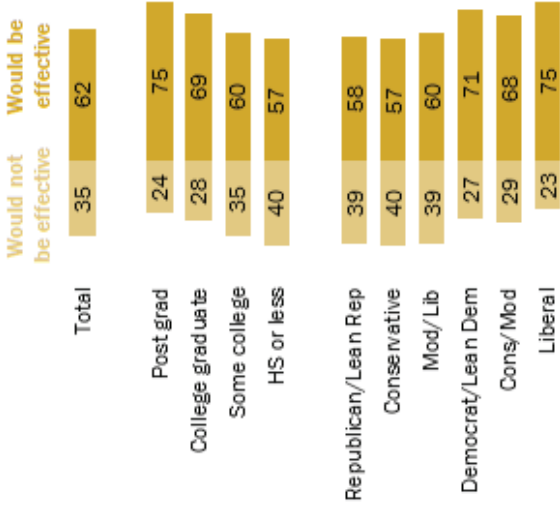
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Partisan differences on all three measures are modest. Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (72%) are less likely than Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (84%) to say that there should be limits on campaign spending. However, support for spending limits is high even among conservative Republicans and leaners – roughly two-thirds (68%) think there should be limits on how much individuals and organizations can spend.

Democrats and leaners are somewhat more likely to say that the high cost of campaigns today discourages good candidates: 68% say this compared with 62% of Republicans and leaners.

Widespread belief that new laws would curb role of money in politics

% who say new laws _____ in reducing the role of money in politics ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q114F1.
Don't know responses not shown.
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While most Americans believe that new laws would be effective in reducing the role of money in politics, there are educational and partisan differences in how widely these views are held.

Fully three-quarters of those with post-graduate degrees say new laws would be effective in this regard, compared with 57% of those with no more than a high school education.

More Democrats and leaners (71%) than Republicans and leaners (58%) say that new laws would be effective in limiting the influence of money in politics. Nonetheless, majorities across all educational and partisan categories say that new laws could be written that would effectively reduce the role of money in politics.


Next: 7. Views of the political parties and how they manage government

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Few say elected officials put the country's interests before their own

Top problems of elected officials

Elected officials seen as 'intelligent,' not 'honest'

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Methodology

Appendix A: Why partisans include 'leaners'

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From: [Niloufer Mackey](#)
To: [MDOS-Canvassers](#)
Cc: [D S Mackey](#); [Christopher Rohwer](#)
Subject: Misleading summary: Secure MI Vote
Date: Thursday, September 9, 2021 4:33:00 PM

**CAUTION: This is an External email. Please send suspicious emails to
abuse@michigan.gov**

To: Board of Canvassers

Re: Misleading Summary for Secure MI Vote Petition

We are writing to express our deep concern about the misleading summary proposed for the Secure MI Vote petition by the group responsible for this petition. Here are some of the reasons:

1. The summary states that the petition will "protect the right to vote and increase confidence in the conduct of elections by requiring photo identification". We strongly feel that this claim is actually false. Photo ID is already required.
2. The summary also states that the petition will increase voter participation. This claim is also false, see item 3 below.
3. The summary omits any mention that the proposal prohibits election officials from sending absentee ballot applications unless formally requested. This is not only misleading, but it will decrease rather than increase voter participation.
4. The summary also states that the petition prohibits special interest funding of elections. This is also misleading because the petition prohibits all private funding, including support from non-partisan groups who might want to provide emergency funds with no strings attached to county clerks offices.

Thank you.

Niloufer Mackey, 3013 Bobolink Lane, Kalamazoo, MI 49008
Steve Mackey, 3013 Bobolink Lane, Kalamazoo, MI 49008
Mary Lou Rohwer, 6024 Texas Drive, Kalamazoo, MI 49009To